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OFFICE OF CHIEF OF COUNSEL FOR WAR CRIMES

EVIDENCE DIVISION

Date : 22 July 1948

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Fred Niebergall

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Paul Joosten

Nuremberg, 6 July 1948

PAUL A. JOOSTEN

General Secretary
International Military
Tribunal

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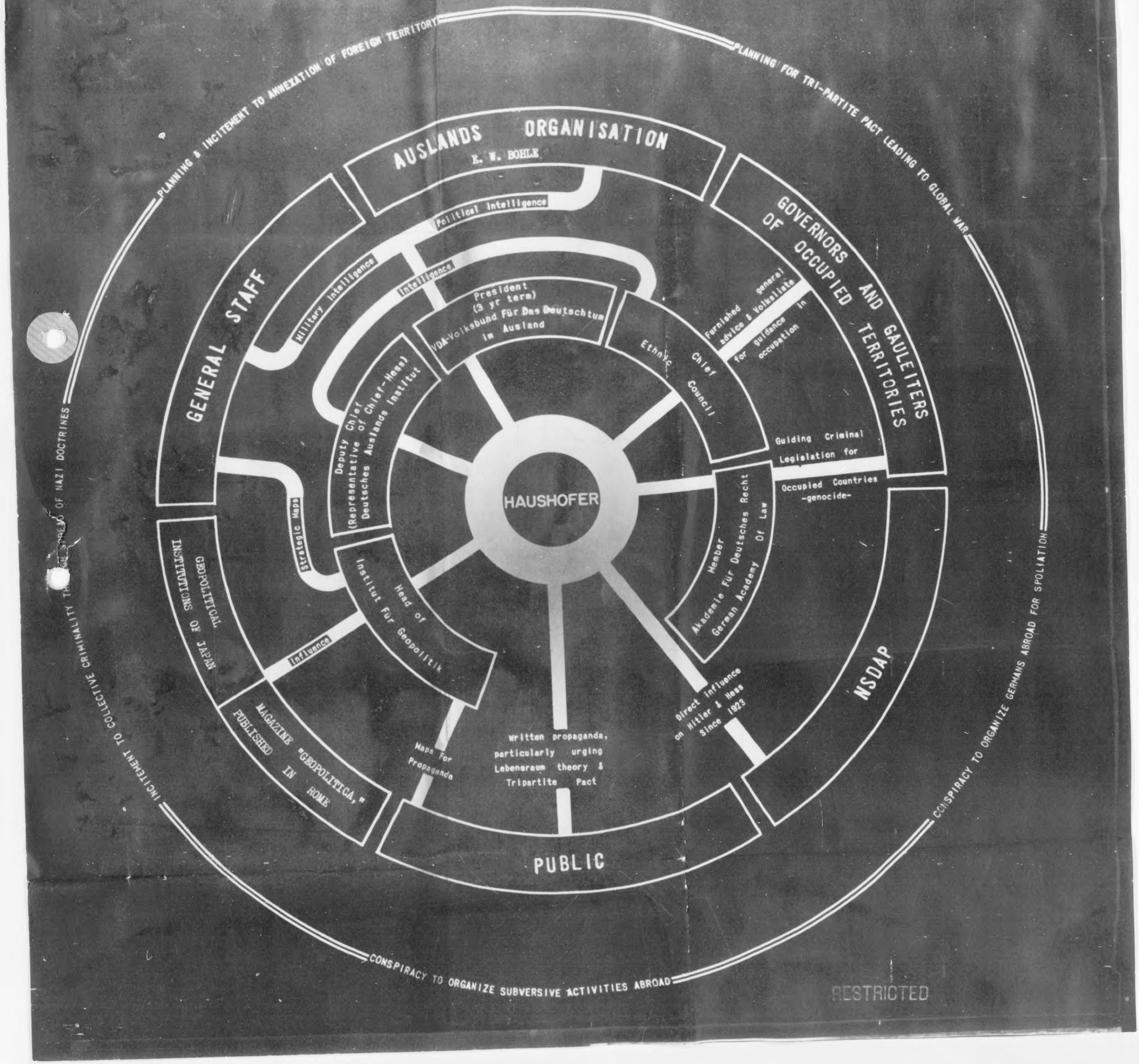
The Criminal Activities of KARL HAUSHOFER



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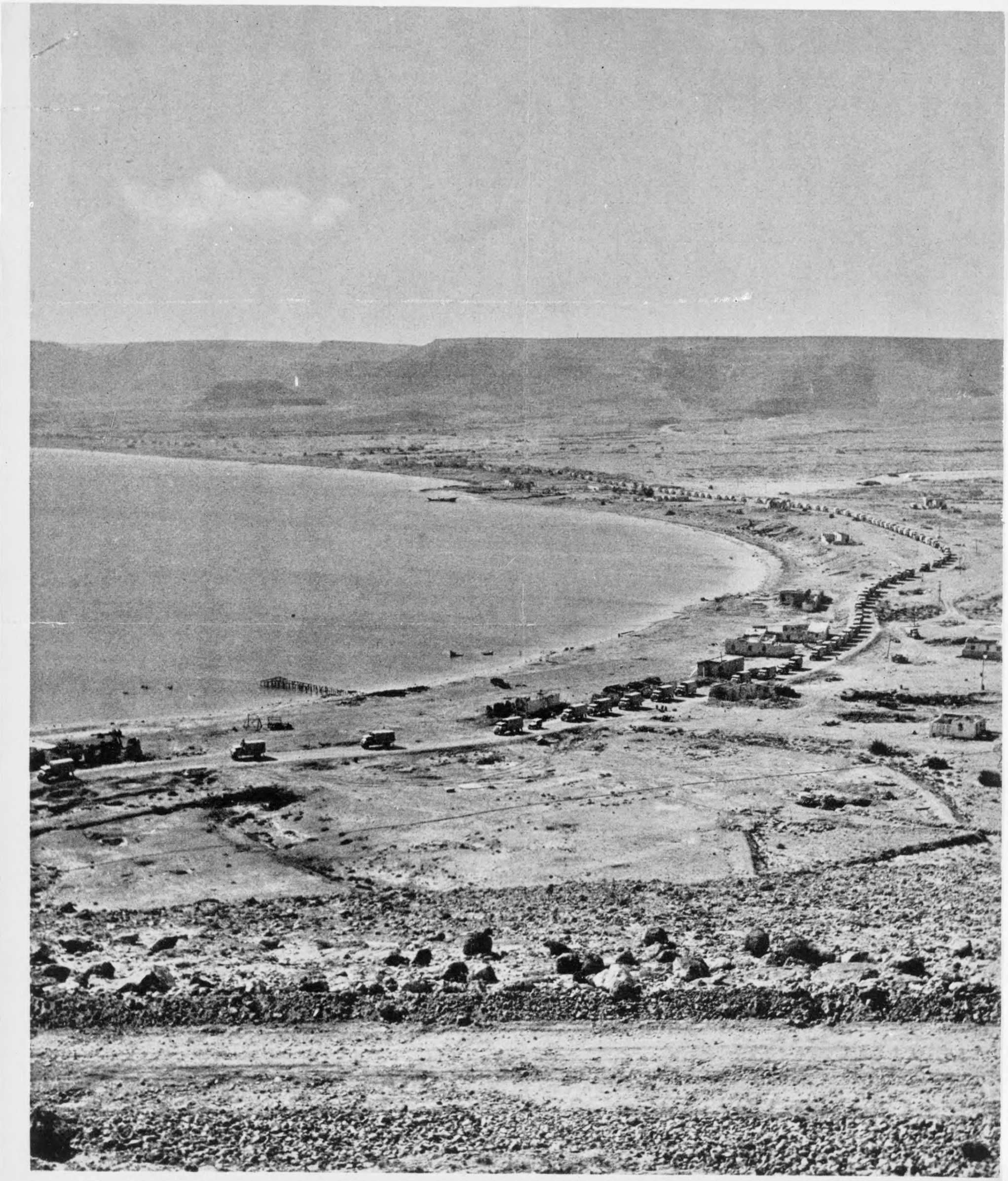

BRITISH VICTORS ROLL INTO LIBYA

The incredible sight above is a file of more than 100 British motor vehicles rounding the turn past Halfaya Pass and into Libya in pursuit of Rommel. This is the Eighth Army in movement, an exhibit that staggered correspondents with its size, organization and mobility. Still another column, mostly armored vehicles, was riding parallel to this atop the 1,000-ft. escarpment in the background. The gorge of Halfaya Pass is off the right of the picture. The town of Salûm is behind camera. The water of the Gulf of El Salûm here is a bright blue, washing a beautiful white beach, but nobody stopped to bathe. In this column of largely American trucks, U. S. lend-lease made its chief contribution to the Battle of Egypt and British Eighth Army.

H3258-0005

GEOPOLITICS

THE LURID CAREER OF A SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM WHICH A BRITON INVENTED, THE GERMANS USED AND AMERICANS NEED TO STUDY

by JOSEPH J. THORNDIKE JR.

Some months before the U. S. entered the war, the FBI picked up the trail of a German girl who had come to this country as a student. The girl, an attractive blonde, settled down in Washington, D. C. and began frequenting the campus of Georgetown University, which is not a coed institution. There she focused her attention on Father Edmund A. Walsh, Georgetown's greatest scholastic luminary. She sought frequent conferences with him to discuss her "studies"—in private. When he traveled to other cities to lecture, he would find the girl in his audience. In order to assist the FBI, Father Walsh, after taking suitable precaution and placing a secretary near-by, received the girl from time to time in a public office. If, as the FBI strongly suspected, the girl was a German agent sent to frame the good Father by creating a scandal, she never had a chance to carry out her plot. In December 1941, when the U. S. declared war on Germany, the girl was promptly picked up and taken before a special tribunal of the Department of Justice which found enough evidence to intern her for the duration.

Now Father Walsh is a kindly, peaceable man, an eminent scholar and a Jesuit priest—hardly the man to inspire a foreign government to melodramatic plots against him. But the Gestapo might explain it in a word: Geopolitics. For the past 16 years Father Walsh has studied the rise of the German school of geopolitics and blazed the way for an American school fundamentally different in its objectives. His studies enabled him to analyze and forecast with remarkable accuracy the military power of both Germany and Russia. His classes at the Georgetown School of Foreign Service are attended by Army officers and members of the diplomatic service. In the light of these facts it is not surprising that the Nazis wanted to shut him up. They may well have wanted it badly enough to send a blonde agent to compromise him.

Such goings on would seem scandalously out-of-place in most fields of scholarship. But with geopolitics they are quite in character. This applied science has had a brief but melodramatic history on the great stage of world politics. To most Americans the very word geopolitics has a sinister glamor. It comes from the German. It is tied up with the rise of the Nazi Party and the German plans for world domination. It suggests dark plots, evil intrigue and black magic.

This reputation, though deserved, is somewhat surprising. Fundamentally, geopolitics is not much more than a quick way of saying "political geography," a branch of learning which has been pursued for centuries in academic calm without inspiring wars or revolutions. It studies the relation of geography to the development of peoples and states. Like many another science, it occasionally developed extremists. Thus some geographers tried to explain all human history by geographic factors, just as some economists tried to explain all history by economic factors. But such theories were argued in the study and so long as political geography followed its academic path, no one considered it a menace.

Around the end of the last century certain geographers in Europe began to give it a different twist. Friedrich Ratzel, a German, studied the growth of states and laid down the "laws" through which states became great by grabbing "living space"—*Lebensraum*—from weaker states. Rudolf Kjellén, a Swede who allied himself with the Germans, preached the gospel of a great pan-German state, including his own country and dominating Europe. Between them, Ratzel and Kjellén took political geography out of the study and turned it into a tool of national policy. The old-style political geographer studied earth conditions for the sake of pure knowledge. But this new kind of geographer constantly asks: "How can these conditions enable the state to achieve its ends?" It was Kjellén who gave this "applied science" a name: *Geopolitik*.

But still, as a tool of statecraft, *Geopolitik* lacked something. It was more of a philosophy than a plan of action. It was like economics before Adam Smith or natural science before Darwin. It was not yet a *system*.

The man who made it a system was lurking just offstage, however, and presently he emerged. He was not a German but an Englishman—Sir Halford Mackinder, a distinguished geographer, vice president of the Royal Geographical Society, professor at the University of London. Mackinder had set forth the substance of his theory in a brief paper read to the Geographical Society in 1904, entitled "The Geographical Pivot of History." Nobody paid much attention. Germany fought and lost the first World War—perhaps because she had not yet listened to Mackinder.

In 1918 Mackinder put his theories in a book called *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. He wrote it while the peace conference was going on, as a warning to his own countrymen. He explained the strength of Germany's geopolitical position. He showed how it could strike for world conquest. He begged his countrymen to see this menace and to take measures against it while Germany was still weak.

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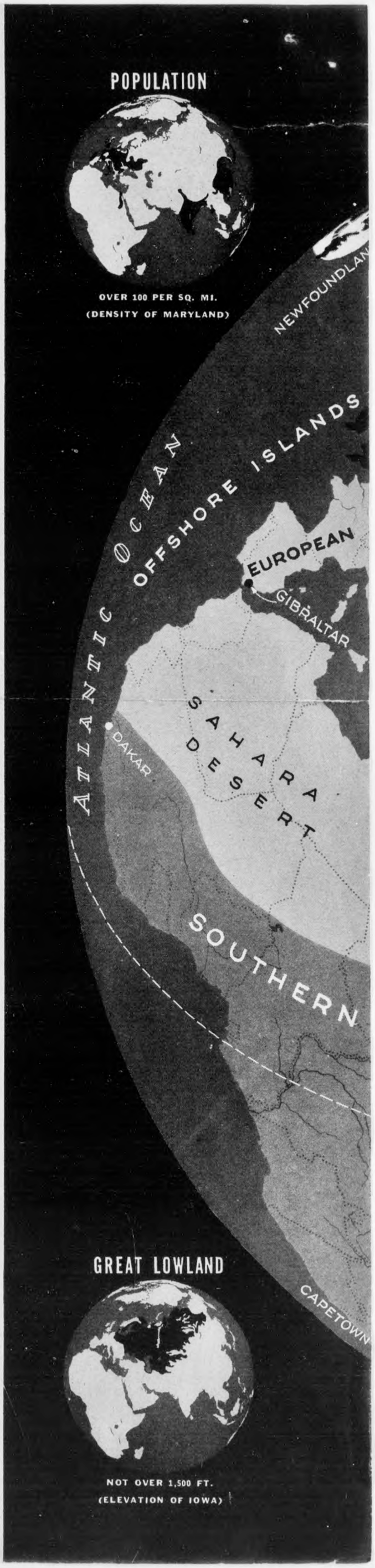

THE WORLD-ISLAND AS SEEN BY MACKINDER, THE "FATHER" OF GEOPOLITICS

This map shows the World-Island (the joint continent of Eurasia-Africa) as described by Mackinder. The world is viewed in three grand sections. In the center of Eurasia is the Heartland; around it in a great crescent lie the Coastlands of Europe and Asia; beyond them in another great crescent lie the offshore islands (Britain, Japan) and the outer islands (the Americas, Australia, etc.). There is a Southern Heartland in Africa, connected to the main Heartland by the Bridge of Arabia. The great centers of civilization and power have always been in the Coastlands. Only now is the Heartland, so long inaccessible to seafaring men, being opened up by the railroad and airplane. This map is based on an orthographic projection by Richard Edes Harrison which will appear in the January issue of *Fortune*.

The small globe at bottom left shows the Great Lowland which covers the northern part of the Heartland and stretches on into the continent of Europe. The other small globes show that the Coastlands are high in population, rainfall, industry.

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CANADA

ALASKA

GREENLAND

NORTH POLE

ICELAND

DUTCH HARBOR
ALEUTIANS

PETROPAVLOVSK

LENA R.

ARCTIC CIRCLE

MURMANSK

ARCHANGEL

COASTLAND

URAL MTS.

OB RIVER

YENISEI R.

HEARTLAND

BLACK SEA

CASPIAN SEA

ARAL SEA

ALEXANDRIA

ARABIA

RED SEA

THE BRIDGE

HEARTLAND

HIMALAYA MTS.

ASIATIC COASTLAND

HONG KONG

SOUTH CHINA SEA

SINGAPORE

TRINCOMALEE

EQUATOR

INDIAN OCEAN

AUSTRALIA

JAPAN

YOKOHAMA

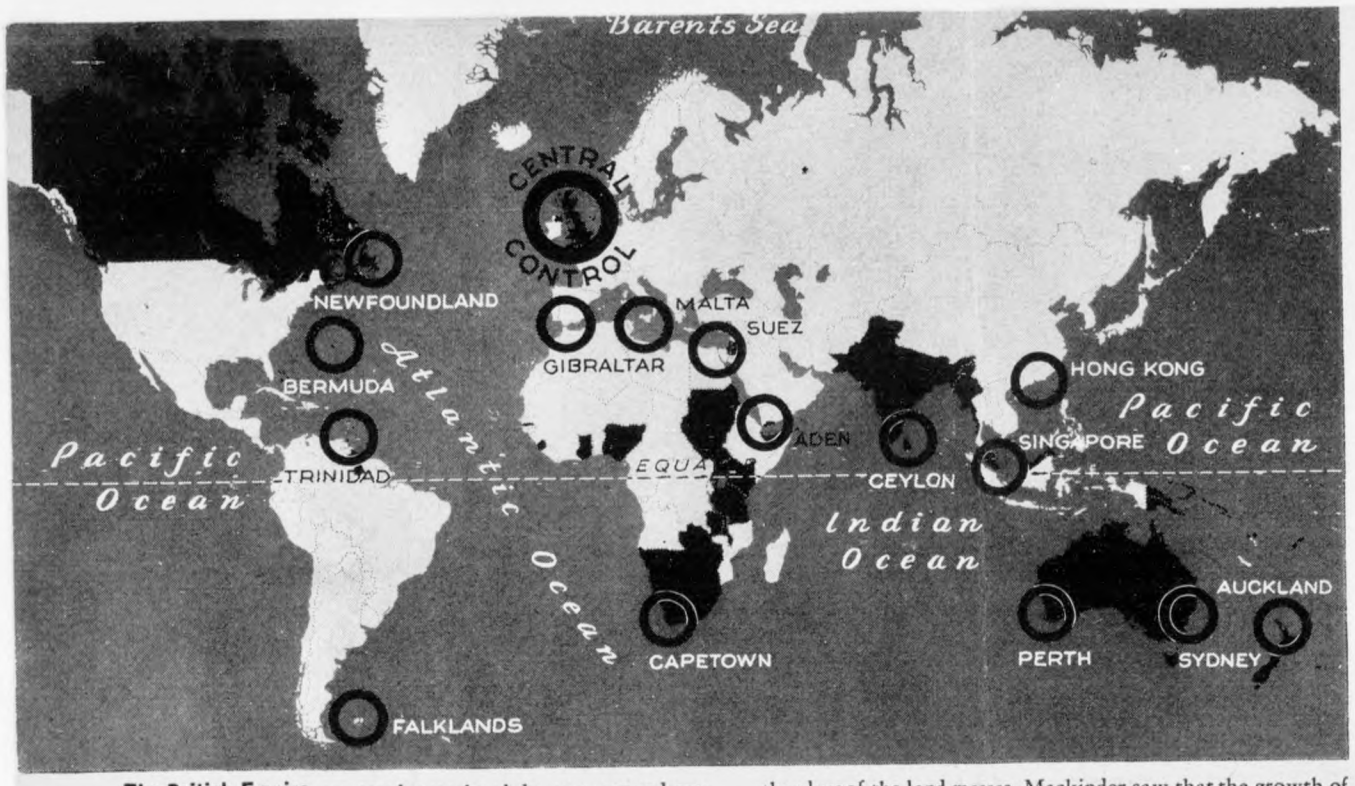
PACIFIC OCEAN
OFFSHORE ISLANDS

INDUSTRY

AMOUNT COMPARABLE TO
STATE OF CONNECTICUT

RAINFALL

25 IN. (EQUAL TO OMAHA)
AND ABOVE, ANNUALLY



The British Empire, scattered over the globe, was a sound geopolitical structure during the age of seapower. Control rested on a fleet with bases at a number of strategic points around the edges of the land masses. Mackinder saw that the growth of well-organized landpower placed these bases in grave danger. But airpower may soon overshadow both landpower and seapower.

Mackinder's world is best seen on this flat Mercator map. The World-Island consists of a Heartland surrounded by a rim of Coastlands. Beyond them lie outer islands. Mackinder warned

GEOPOLITICS (continued)

Still the British ignored Mackinder. But this time the Germans paid attention. They found in Mackinder a beautifully logical statement of German strength, all set down, point by point, for them to follow. What had been written as a warning to the British became a blueprint for German victory.

Mackinder began by inviting his readers to take a realistic look at the world as a piece of geography. He noted that, of the total surface of the globe, nine-twelfths is water; three-twelfths land. Of the land area, two-thirds consists of one great continuous mass, the joint continent of Asia, Africa and Europe. This land mass Mackinder called the World-Island. Offshore lie two small island groups: the British Isles to the west, the Japanese islands to the east. Beyond the seas are the outer islands, of which the largest are North and South America and Australia. It is customary to think of the Americas as one hemisphere, but this implies an equality with the other hemisphere which does not in fact exist. The World-Island has not only twice the area of all the rest of the world, including the British and Japanese islands. It has more than fourteen-sixteenths of the population; nearly another sixteenth live on the offshore islands. Only one-sixteenth live in the outer islands.

This picture of Eurasia-Africa as one great land mass comes as no surprise to anyone who has ever looked at a map. Europe indeed is no more than a peninsula of Asia, slightly larger than the peninsula of India. Africa, facing Eurasia along a coast of 3,800 miles, is physically joined at one point (Suez) and almost joined at two others (Gibraltar and Aden). The Mediterranean, as its name indicates, is virtually an inland sea.

Mackinder and the Heartland

But the geographical unity of the World-Island has never seemed a very important fact. Men have lived chiefly around its edges. The great land mass has been a barrier rather than a means of travel or communication. In recent centuries men have sailed around it and brought its edges much closer together, but the interior remained until this century a lonesome waste. At last, according to Mackinder, the railroad and the airplane were making it a real unit.

Mackinder went on to examine the World-Island, looking first at the vast, empty interior of Asia. The characteristic of all this area, stretching from the Volga Basin of Russia to eastern Siberia, is that it has no waterways open to seafaring men. In the north this area drains into the frozen Arctic Sea through three great rivers which rank among the ten longest in the world yet whose very names are unfamiliar to most people: the Lena, the Yenisei, the Ob. In the south it drains into salt inland seas with no connection to the ocean. To all this vast area of interior and arctic drainage, Mackinder applies his most famous term: the Heartland.

The Heartland consists chiefly of a great lowland, also stretching from far-eastern Siberia to the Volga Basin and broken only by the low Ural Mountains. It includes also the Iranian Upland in the southwest and part of the Mongolian Upland in the southeast. In terms of national states, the Heartland is overwhelmingly Russian. It embraces almost all of Siberia, Mongolia and western China, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Iran and about half of European Russia.

Around the Heartland, in a huge arc, stretch the "Coastlands," defined as the area of drainage into navigable seas. All Europe, except part of Russia, belongs to the Coastlands. So does the Near East, India and most of China. The Coastlands, for the most part, are favored with ample rainfall and fertile soil. Many of their rivers are navigable deep into the interior. In the Eurasian Coastlands—not in the Heartland—have sprung up all the great civilizations of history. If you include their offshore islands, they embrace three-quarters of the world's population and all but one (the U. S.) of its powerful states.

In the world of the Coastlands, seapower came to be a mighty force. For more than two centuries it enabled Britain to maintain a world empire and, at the same time, to hold the balance of power among the mainland states of Europe. At the time Mackinder wrote, seapower was at its zenith. Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan had resoundingly proved in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660–1783* what the Royal Navy had assumed all along—that seapower was the controlling force in war.

Mackinder did not deny the use of seapower. He simply pointed to one of Mahan's tenets—the importance of the home base for seapower. And he put the question: "What if the Great Continent, the whole World-Island or a large part of it, were at some future time to become a single and united base of seapower? Would not the other insular bases be outbuilt as regards ships and outmanned as regards seamen?" That—the unification of the Heartland—was precisely what Mackinder feared. He went on to tell why.

Along its eastern border, the Heartland is separated from the Asiatic Coastlands by the massive barrier of the Tibetan mountains. But in the west there is no such barrier to separate it from Europe. The great lowland which covers the northern part of the Heartland sweeps on unbroken to become the plain of North Germany. Across this lowland, in centuries past, rode the invading horsemen from the steppes of Central Asia, bent on conquering Europe. These raiders left their marks and many of them stayed in Europe (the Turks, the Magyars, the Finns), but they failed to make their conquests stick. These nomadic men of Asia lacked two things which the Heartland has always lacked: manpower and an organized base of operations.

But the avenue westward, Mackinder warned, could be an avenue eastward as well. If any single power controlled all of East Europe, it would have the Heartland at its mercy. This is precisely the position to which Germany has always aspired. By war and by more or less peaceful penetration, the Germans have striven to dominate the Slavs. Should they ever succeed, they would be in a position to strike for world conquest.

Mackinder formulated a three-point proposition:
Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;
Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island;
Who rules the World-Island commands the World.

It is at this point that some later geopoliticians part company with Mackinder. For though most of them agree with the first proposition and many of them agree with the third, they doubt the second. The Heartland is for the most part barren and undeveloped. Until the Soviets began building up industry east of the Volga, it was never the seat of any considerable power. Hence it is difficult to see how it can yet control the World-Island. Professor Nicholas J. Spykman of Yale, one of the foremost U. S. geopoliticians, revises the Mackinder proposition to read: "Who rules the Rimland [Coastland] commands the World-Island." For the present, at least, this is closer to the truth.

But though Mackinder attached a mystical importance to the Heartland which it does not yet possess, his fear of a single power in East Europe was well founded. For that power would be in a position to strike for the European Coastlands as well as the Heartland. In the terrible year 1939 this dread possibility seemed to have come true when Russia signed a nonaggression pact with Germany. Luckily for the world, that unity was not real. But that is another story, revolving around the person of Mackinder's famous German disciple, Karl Haushofer.

The mystery of Haushofer

Major General Professor Doktor Karl Haushofer began to be a power in Germany shortly after the last war. But the world at large did not get

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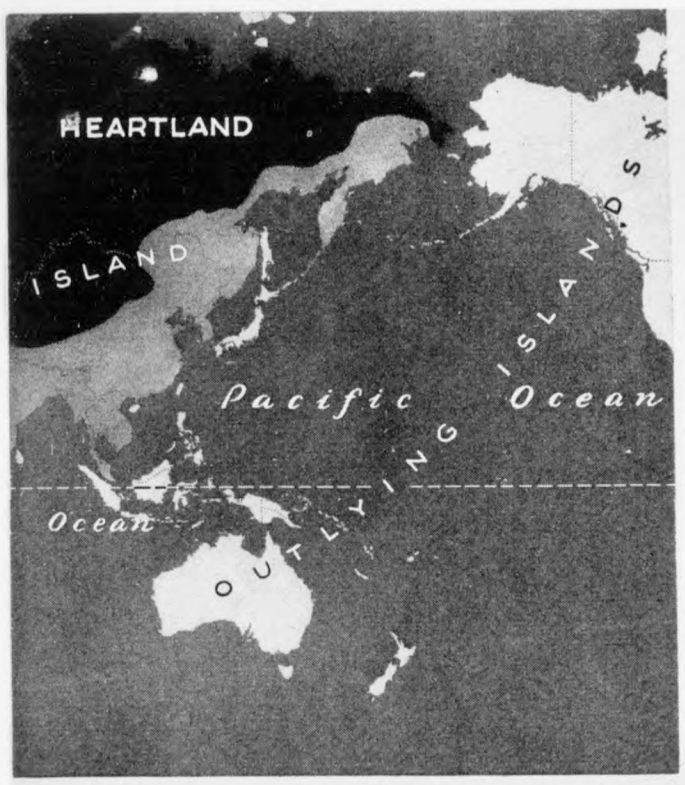
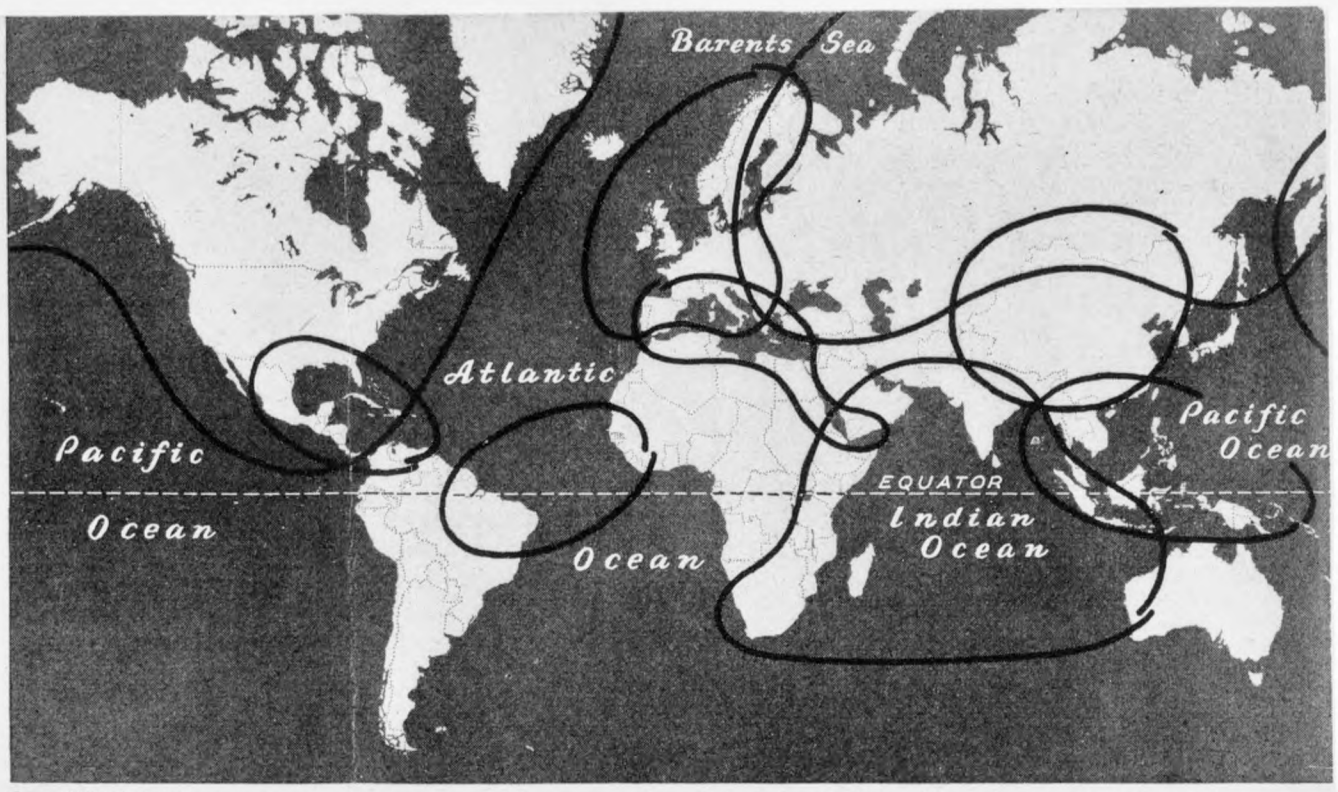


that if any great power should gain control of the Heartland it could conquer the Coastlands. Then, by outbuilding the outer lands in seapower, it could gain control of the whole world.



Geopolitical zones with common interests and problems are shown here. They cut across national boundaries and even continents, as in the zone which includes the bulge of South America and the bulge of Africa. Many of the zones overlap, such as the Caribbean zone and North America. Japan does not fit into any zone, indicating a fundamental weakness in its position.

wind of the mysterious doctor until the late 1930's when he was suddenly "discovered" as Hitler's evil genius. One of the few foreigners who found out about him earlier was Mr. Eric Archdeacon, a British banker who represented an American corporation in Europe, with headquarters in Berlin. In his contacts with German business leaders during the 1920's, Mr. Archdeacon kept running into an extraordinary interest in the University of Munich, evidenced by handsome contributions to that institution of learning. Mr. Archdeacon's inquiries were politely brushed aside. His curiosity aroused, he went to Munich, traced down the payments from German industry and discovered that they went to the *Institut für Geopolitik*, run by Haushofer.

Proceeding from that clue, Mr. Archdeacon probed as deeply as he could into the mystery of Haushofer. He found a remarkable network of relationships among German industry, government departments, the Army, the universities and the "hoodlum" Nazi Party. Haushofer and his Institute formed the ideological center of this network. Sensing something important in this setup, Mr. Archdeacon followed geopolitics closely until, at the outbreak of this war, he quit Europe, became an American citizen and put his knowledge at the disposal of U. S. geopoliticians.

Karl Haushofer was born into an old Bavarian family in 1869, the year before Bismarck launched his lightning war on France. Growing up in the full flood of German nationalism, he went naturally into the Army and presently found himself a military observer in Japan. It was in the Far East that he began his intensive study of the relationship between geography and war. Called to combat duty in 1914 by the outbreak of war, he commanded a division on the Western Front. In 1918, as he marched his beaten soldiers back to their homeland, he brooded deeply on the causes of defeat. Back in Munich, where the caldron of political ferment bubbled hotter than anywhere else in Germany, the scholar-general accepted a chair of political geography at the University of Munich and began stating his arresting theories in lectures.

One of Haushofer's students was Rudolf Hess. After the failure of the Munich beerhall putsch, Hess introduced his teacher to Hitler in Landsberg Fortress, where the imprisoned Führer was busy dictating *Mein Kampf*. Haushofer gave Hitler the solid base he needed for his cloudy ideas. Chapter XIV of *Mein Kampf* is thought by some students to be almost pure Haushofer.

Because his ideas have had such explosive military effect, Haushofer is often referred to as the father of geopolitics. But he did not invent the science, as Ratzel and Kjellén may claim to have done, nor did he propound any great geopolitical system, as Mackinder did. Haushofer saw his role as a kind of scientific Machiavelli. In other times, when the state was thought to be synonymous with its royal sovereign (as Louis XIV later said, *L'État, c'est moi*), Machiavelli drew up a set of rules for a sovereign to follow in order to keep his realm. Similarly, for the *Volk*-state of the Fascists, Haushofer attempted to distill the geopolitical rules for success.

From Ratzel and Kjellén, Haushofer took his concept of the "organic state." The state, he thought, is a living organism—like an animal. It must grow and develop, else it dies. If the state lacks certain vital "organs" (such as large space or secure frontiers), it is justified in grabbing them from weaker states. This whole theory of the "organic state" is a false analogy from nature for, as critics have pointed out, a man lacking an eye does not wait at a street corner and gouge one out of the first passerby. But it was precisely this concept which established Haushofer in Hitler's esteem, for it gave a cloak of science to the Nazi schemes for expansion.

If Haushofer had done all his thinking on this plane, he would rank as a mere Nazi propagandist. Actually, he worked out his geopolitical doctrines on a basis of cold scientific fact. Accepting Mackinder's broad concepts, he fleshed them out with an enormous amount of geopolitical research on every region of the globe. During the late 1920's and the 1930's his Munich institute sent out many field expeditions which caused considerable puzzlement to natives of the regions under study. When anyone asked, these field groups might explain that they were studying bird life or tree barks, which was very likely true, but they were also studying geography, climate, people, politics, industry and all the other elements of geopolitical power. At Munich this data was worked over by a staff estimated at 1,000 experts and much of it found its way into the Institute's journal, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*.

In its sudden burst of energy, geopolitics spawned half a dozen satellite sciences: geo-jurisprudence (law), geomedicine, geo-psychology and other *geowissenschaften* (geosciences). Geo-psychology, as one example, explored such matters as the influence of landscape on military morale. Haushofer laid the failure of the Allied expedition against Bolshevik Russia in 1919 in large part to the depressing effect of the desolate tundra around Archangel on French and British soldiers. When General Rommel trained his Afrika Korps inside a giant hothouse in Germany, it was not wholly to condition their bodies to desert conditions. It was also to condition their minds to the strange landscape.

As a former officer, Haushofer worked closely with what was left of the German Army after the war. Under the Treaty of Versailles, the German General Staff had been officially dissolved and, up to the time the Nazis took power, it had to pursue its work under cover. It seems probable that Haushofer's institute carried on a mass of geopolitical detail work which would normally have been done by a research section of the General Staff. In later years it was even possible to predict the road of Nazi conquest by reading the *Zeitschrift*. Shortly before Czechoslovakia was annexed, the *Zeitschrift* ominously devoted almost an entire issue to that country.

"One of der Führer's hobbies"

Throughout this period, Haushofer and his colleagues published a flood of books and articles, all written in a formidable jargon of caterpillar words and maze-like sentences. In 1934 Haushofer was made president of the German Academy. His school was housed in a magnificent edifice at Munich. Yet when foreigners began to ask questions, the Germans were able to shrug him off as a harmless screwball—"one of der Führer's little hobbies." Der Führer certainly seemed fond of the old fellow, for he made his Jewish wife and his two sons "honorary Aryans."

One important trick in keeping Haushofer and his followers under wraps was to avoid publishing any of their writings in other languages. A slip occurred in 1934 when a British publisher put out a translation of a work called *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege* (Space and People in the World War) by Professor Ewald Banse, a geopolitician at Brunswick Technical College. Published in Britain under the title *Germany Prepares for War*, this book not only set forth the Nazi aims but became uncomfortably specific. After sketching a plan for the invasion of the British Isles it added: "We confess that it gives us pleasure to meditate on the destruction that must sooner or later overtake this proud and seemingly invincible nation." The Germans had quite a time explaining this away but did the best they could with the "just another screwball" line. Professor Banse was quietly promoted to be chief of the technical section of the General Staff.

To the masters of the German state, Haushofer preached a doctrine of expansion. Its cornerstone is this precept: "Space is power." Now this idea

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may not sound very revolutionary since every ambitious state in history has tried to grab space from its neighbors. But the British Empire, which has been the world's first power for 150 years, was built on quite a different principle. British power rested on control of the seas and of strategic points where sea routes passed under the shadow of land: the English Channel, Gibraltar, Suez, the Cape of Good Hope, Singapore. With a Navy based on these points, Britain was able to play a decisive role on the Continent. In the age of seapower, land space was not the controlling factor in world politics.

He foretold the fall of Singapore

Haushofer saw what the British did not: that the bases of seapower were no longer secure. A state in control of the continental mass behind these bases could capture them by overland attack. During the early 1930's, in conversation with a British officer, he accurately foretold the fall of Singapore. He said that it would not be taken from the sea but from the land and remarked, as many were later to remark, that Singapore's guns were pointing the wrong way. The fact that Gibraltar and Suez are still in British hands is no refutation of Haushofer's logic. It is generally agreed that the Germans could have taken Gibraltar at any time after the fall of France if they had felt it worth the cost. Suez has been held only by placing a large land army in Egypt to defend it.

In retrospect it is possible to discern a remarkable fact. So long as the German state followed Haushofer's teaching it made progress toward its objectives. When it departed from that teaching, by going to war with the western powers before it had secured control of Russia, it started down the road to defeat.

The theory of the Heartland is crucial to Haushofer's doctrine, as it is to Mackinder's. In laying down a strategy of conquest, Haushofer told the masters of the German state: "First get control of the Heartland." Once that was achieved, he taught, Germany could overrun western Europe and the whole World-Island. How Germany should get control of the Heartland—whether by peaceful penetration or by war—Haushofer did not specify. But he left no doubt that Germany should secure complete control of the Heartland before taking on the western powers. He had learned well the lesson of the first World War: don't fight on two fronts. And he added: get the Heartland first.

Undoubtedly Haushofer hoped that control of the Heartland could be secured without resort to military means. He looked forward to some sort of collaboration between Germany and Russia, under German leadership. Such a combine, he reasoned, could then turn with every chance of success on the real enemy: Britain, America and their satellites.

In putting forth this theory, Haushofer met strong opposition. For it ran directly counter to the teachings of the Nazi "philosopher," Dr. Alfred Rosenberg. Rosenberg preached a Nordic alliance with Britain and a holy war against Communism. The two men were completely antipathetic. Rosenberg's god was Race, Haushofer's was Space. Rosenberg ranted about the German race and its divine mission to conquer "inferior" races. Haushofer, like geopoliticians generally, disdained race and pointed with pride to the mixed origins of the Germans.

Hitler was torn between his two preceptors, listening now to one, now to the other. In *Mein Kampf*, despite the Haushofer influence, he leaned strongly to the Rosenberg plan for an alliance with Britain and war on Russia.

On the eve of war Haushofer seemed to win out. Before launching his blitz in the west Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with Russia, hoping that this would give him control of the Heartland. Though this looked like the Haushofer policy in action, it was actually a break with it. For Haushofer, who knew Russia's strength, had always expected that it would take years or decades to win real control of the Heartland. The impatient dictator, thinking he had accomplished it in one stroke, turned to fight the western powers.

Haushofer's empty triumph lasted only a year. When Russia failed to roll over as intended, Hitler switched back to the Rosenberg view and launched the war on Russia, expecting quick victory. Thus he completed his break with the teachings of his geopoliticians and, in all probability, sealed his own doom. Seeking to conquer the Heartland by force of arms, Germany has exhausted itself for the struggle with Britain and America.

That ended the influence of the man who told Germany how to conquer the world. To Haushofer's personal story there is one thing to add. It is a rumor—but a rumor confirmed in high places. The rumor says that Haushofer is dead. It says that he was shot by a firing squad soon after the outbreak of war with Russia. Thus the Nazi state repaid its soundest teacher.

Geopoliticians neglect America

In all the theories and researches of the geopoliticians there is one striking blank spot. That is the U.S.A. Mackinder dismissed the whole Western Hemisphere as an outer island. In the voluminous studies of the Haushofer institute there is less about North America than about any other section of the globe. What little appears in the *Zeitschrift* is mostly the work of one Colin Ross, a writer of strong Nazi race ideas and shallow mind. He devotes himself to such studies as the strength of German racial stock in the Middle West and plans for a Nazi empire in the New World.

Yet Haushofer himself let fall occasional remarks which stand out in sharp contrast to this inattention. He once wrote: "The future struggle for world power and the fate of National Socialism will be decided in America." Still again he notes that the U. S. is the only geopolitically mature power in the world.

This neglect of the U. S. in geopolitical literature, combined with occasional remarks of respect and even envy, may be significant. It suggests that the Germans leave America out of their theories simply because it does not fit into them.

As Haushofer says, the U. S. is geopolitically "mature." It has, in magnificent degree, the geopolitical essentials of power — space, resources, manpower, organization. No other country is so well endowed. But beyond this, it has a uniquely favorable frontier situation. There is no other national power center on any of its borders nor indeed within thousands of miles of its border. Alone among the great powers of the globe, it is without a rival in its part of the world. Thus the U.S. already enjoys a position such as other powers have fought for centuries to attain—and always failed.

For this fortunate situation, Americans can claim no particular credit. It is due, in large part, to an accident of history. Yet not entirely so, for while destiny may have provided the opportunity to build this great state, the builders of America made the most of that opportunity. Into the making of America there went a very great measure of what might, today, be called sound geopolitics.

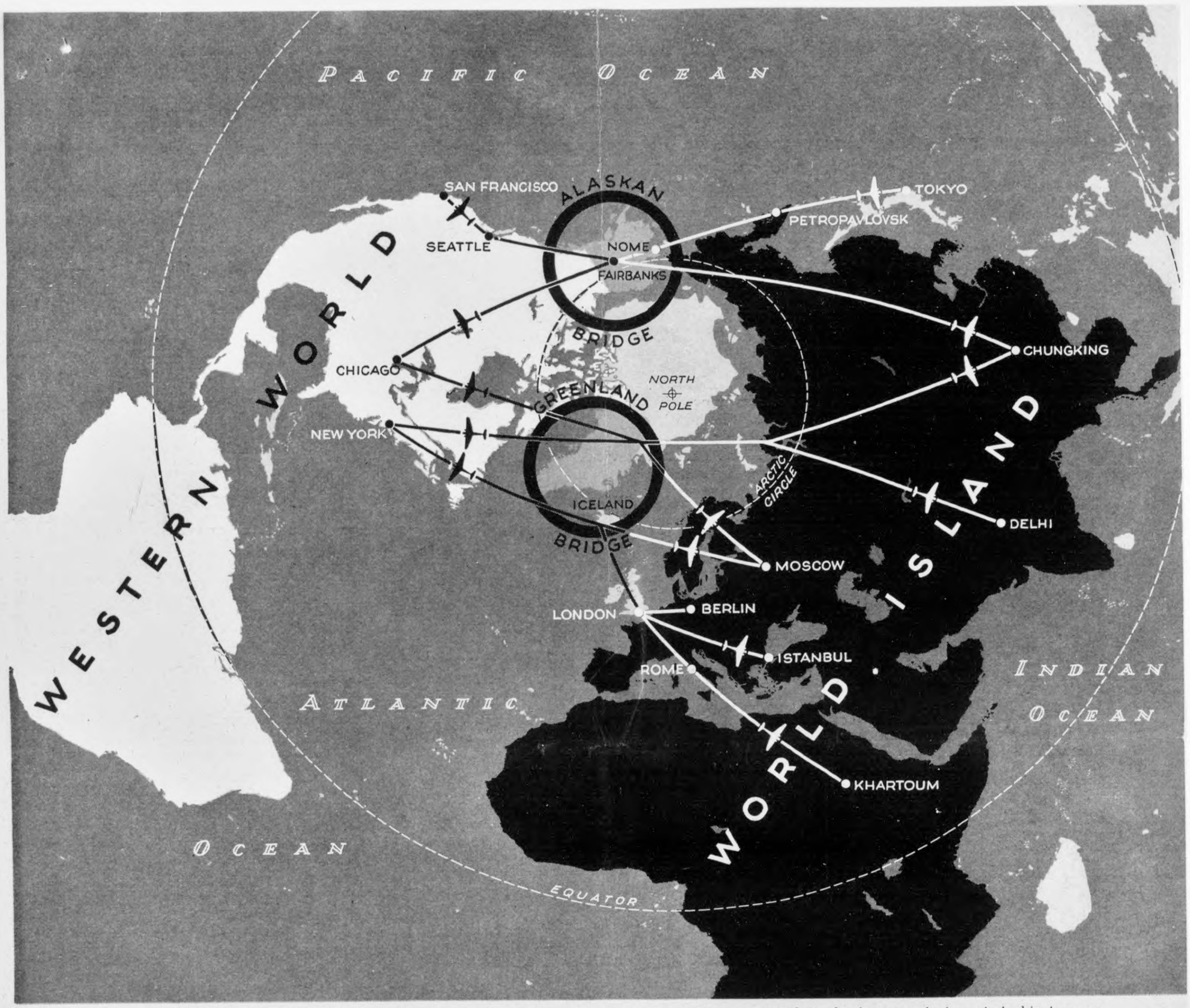
As Father Walsh points out, perhaps the greatest geopolitical genius of early America was Alexander Hamilton, whose stature as a nation-builder yields nothing to Pitt or Bismarck or Cavour. During the period of the Confederation, Hamilton urged Congress to take steps to assure free navigation of the Mississippi, whose mouth at New Orleans was in French hands. A few years later he urged that Louisiana and Florida be obtained for the Union. In those days the concept of one nation stretching from coast to coast of the North American continent was by no means generally accepted. Hamilton urged the wisdom of creating "one great American system superior to the control of all trans-Atlantic force or influence."

If Hamilton was the great nation-builder, his political rivals shared his vision. Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana really brought the continental-nation into being. The Monroe Doctrine staking out the whole Western Hemisphere as independent of European influence, is perhaps the greatest geopolitical work of modern times. Haushofer's Germans refer to it repeatedly with an almost embarrassing admiration.

Down through the years, American statesmen have by and large retained this geopolitical gift. By purchasing Alaska from Russia in 1867, William H. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, made such a master stroke that even that vaulting imperialist could hardly have guessed its full brilliance. For it was not until the age of airpower that Alaska could be spotted as the bridge between the continents. The people of Seward's time may perhaps be forgiven therefore for their cracks about "Seward's

Sir Halford Mackinder set forth geopolitical doctrine which Germans followed. Britain's most distinguished geographer, long a member of Parliament, shown here in 1923, is now 81.

Dr. Karl Haushofer, leader of the German school of geopolitics, wears the cap of a Munich professor. He taught Hitler and the German General Staff but Hitler finally rejected his advice.



An air view, centered on the North Pole, shows a very different picture of the world from that of the European geopoliticians. The land masses of the globe center around the polar ice cap, making the Arctic Ocean a Mediterranean Sea. Instead of being separated across thousands of water miles, the Western World is closely connected with the World-Island by the "bridges" of Alaska and Greenland. Just as the Mercator map distorts the polar regions, this projection distorts the land around the edges but accurately shows the land in the center. New air routes of the north shown above make this map vitally important for the future. The air age calls for a whole new system of geopolitics which has yet to be formulated by experts.

Icebox" and the public furor which prevented Seward from taking the next step in his geopolitical policy—the acquisition of Greenland.

In this century Theodore Roosevelt showed geopolitical insight by digging the Panama Canal. Even today the importance of the canal is not always fully appreciated. It rests on a true geopolitical picture of the U. S. as an Atlantic-facing country. On a flat map the U. S. seems to stretch, in solid sameness, from coast to coast. But its power center is the rich, populous industrial triangle of the Northeast. Along the Pacific Coast is another power center, much smaller despite its present fabulous rate of growth. Between these two centers lies a broad belt of sparse population, sparse rainfall, a good deal of near-desert and high mountains. Railroads and airlines have given the U. S. a remarkable unity despite these geographic obstacles. But the chief power center of the U. S. still lies in the east. Most of the good ports are on the eastern seacoast and the Gulf of Mexico. Most sea transport, the great cheap mover of goods in war or peace, originates in the east.

The Panama Canal brings the eastern U. S. close to the Pacific and enables the U. S. to operate as a Pacific power. Its construction was a greater blow to Japanese ambitions in the Pacific than many great battles.

As the geopoliticians are so fond of pointing out, the ideal size of the national unit has steadily increased. Just as the nation-states of Europe put the little city-states out of business, so they in turn are dwarfed by the rise of states on a continental scale. When the U. S. was first staked out as a single nation, it was probably over the ideal size for a state of that time. But the rapid growth of science and industry quickly knit it into an effective unit of ideal size.

How airpower changes the picture

Thus we see that the European geopoliticians, by and large, left America out of their calculations. But they made another error which is equally surprising. They underrated airpower.

This is not a latter-day criticism. The error was pointed out within a few minutes of the "birth" of the Mackinder system. After Sir Halford finished delivering his epochal lecture to the Royal Geographic Society in 1904, a young man named Leopold Amery, who in 1942 is Britain's Secretary of State for India, arose from the audience and said: "Both the sea and the railway are going in the future . . . to be supplemented by the air as a means of locomotion, and when we come to that . . . a great deal of this geographical distribution must lose its importance and the successful powers will be those who have the greatest industrial basis."

Considering that the Wright brothers had only flown a year before, this must be put down as a remarkable piece of prophecy.

Airpower is still too young for any definitive appraisal. Despite the spectacular development of the last 40 years, it is still going on at a headlong rate. It will be some time yet before any man can write a definitive statement for airpower as Mahan did for seapower or Clausewitz for landpower.

But it is not too early to suggest that the advent of airpower must greatly modify the tenets of the Mackinder-Haushofer teaching. Take, for instance, the concept of the World-Island. If you look at a Mercator map, with the world laid out flat, the World-Island does indeed appear to stand out as a unit, separated by broad seas from the other great land mass of the Western Hemisphere. But if you look at a global projection like that above, you

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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get quite a different picture. Around the North Pole the great land masses all come close together. America is not an isolated island but one member of a land grouping centered near the Pole. Just as the Mercator projection was the proper map for land and sea travel, the global projection is the map for air travel. The great air routes of the future will skirt the North Pole.

Mackinder's doctrine that landpower could conquer the World-Island was based on the premise that seapower would be forced to stand by helpless. But airpower is not helpless. It can attack the sources of landpower directly. Given a strong home base and adequate forward bases, it can strike at any part of the world from any other part.

In the coming air age, geopolitical power will depend primarily on a nation's home base. That base must have all the essential resources in sufficient quantity. It must have a great industry, functioning at capacity. It must have a large population at a high level of brainpower, energy and training. It must be of great size, to permit the scattering of industrial plants against air attack. These elements of geopolitical power in the air age (which are substantially the same as those named by Haushofer for a strong landpower) are possessed by few nations. The U. S. has them in full measure. Russia has them, at least potentially. China may also have them potentially.

Where the geopoliticians were right

To say that the geopoliticians underrated America and airpower, is not to reject their whole system. The Mackinder analysis of the geopolitics of the World-Island is a brilliant strategical concept. It explained why Germany came so close to winning World War I and why she did not quite win. In World War II it served as the conscious guide for a German strategy which might well have succeeded if it had not made one crucial departure from the Mackinder-Haushofer doctrine.

The geopoliticians' doctrine that landpower ruled the World-Island was right, at least so far as this war is concerned. Against the landpower of Germany, seapower has been utterly ineffective. The Germans were stopped only by another landpower, that of Russia. They will be defeated only when the British and Americans are able to dispose landpower against them on the continent of Europe. In time airpower may possibly make the Mackinder doctrine of landpower obsolete. But in this war it seems destined to play an auxiliary, though important, role.

In their emphasis on space, the geopoliticians were also right. The states which have survived the onslaught of Germany and Japan in this war have been either islands safe from land attack (like England) or states of great space (Russia and China). Whether the geopoliticians were also right in predicting the rise of superstates is still a moot point. But at least the presumption must be in their favor. The U. S. has been a super-state, by geopolitical standards, for many generations. Russia, which has long had the space for a superstate, is just now organizing its inheritance. China looms up as the dominant power of Asia. Among the power centers of the globe, only Europe seems likely to emerge from this war as a group of small states of comparable size and strength. Whether Europe can be stable or prosperous without some kind of federation will be one of the great problems of the peace.

These valid concepts of geopolitics, it should be noted, are not essentially Germanic in their origin. They are the common property of thinkers in England, America, Russia and other countries. The greatest geopolitical thinker of all was an Englishman—Mackinder. The Germans did two things. With Teutonic gift for detail, they collected a tremendous body of factual data to support Mackinder's soaring concepts. And they twisted the precepts of geopolitics to fit their own selfish interests.

The doctrines of the German school of geopolitics are against all Christian morality. They degrade the individual and glorify the state. In their world, men are the pawns of great natural forces which they are powerless to change or defy. Bereft of free will, they are also relieved of any moral responsibility for their deeds. As for the state, the Germans assume that it has an existence on a mystic level above the individuals who serve it. But though its existence is super-human, its morals are sub-animal. It can conquer and kill and pillage with no responsibility to man or God.

All this is sheer, hateful mythology. The state has no mystical being, no reality above the individuals who compose it. The whole German concept of the state, to which the German geopoliticians gave a false basis in "science," is romantic nonsense.

In disgust at the evil works of German geopolitics, some good citi-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 115

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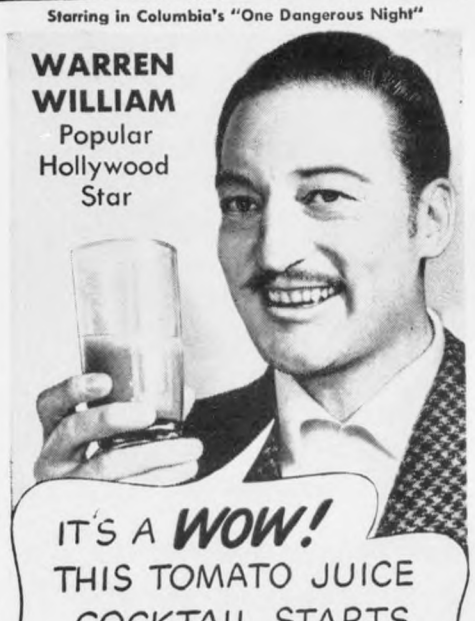

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GEOPOLITICS (continued)

zens tend to reject the whole thing as a black art. This is foolish. To condemn geopolitics because of the sins of the German geopoliticians is as irrational as to condemn carving knives because they have, upon occasion, been used to stab people. Anthropology is not damned because the Nazis used it to support their hateful race ideas nor economics because they used it to subjugate other countries. Geopolitical knowledge and analysis may be used for an evil purpose, as the Germans used it, but it can also be used to establish and defend a moral order in the world. In fact, as long as there are nations which use geopolitics to achieve their ends of conquest and exploitation, democratic nations must, in self defense, make themselves masters of geopolitical thinking.

The molders of this nation were guided by a keen sense of geopolitics, even though they did not know the word. They performed their task so well that the U. S. occupies a geopolitical position which is the secret envy of every chancellery in the world. Perhaps because of this very fortune, Americans have been able in recent history to neglect the study of geopolitical realities and even at times to assume they did not exist. This war is both a reminder of these realities and a challenge to build upon them a wise and effective foreign policy.

A real American school of geopolitics has yet to be born. But it is clearly on the way. This year some 1,500 courses in geopolitics are being given in U. S. colleges. On campuses all over the country musty old geographers are blossoming out as shiny new geopoliticians. Though many are frauds, there are also some first-rate minds involved. Among the distinguished American geographers who are blazing the way for a true American school of geopolitics are President Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University, Father Walsh of Georgetown, Nicholas Spykman of Yale, Derwent Whittlesey of Harvard, Edward Mead Earle and Harold Sprout of Princeton. The Army boasts able geopolitical authorities in Colonel William S. Culbertson of the General Staff and Colonel Herman Beukema of West Point.

Foreign policy for the U. S.

Of this group, Professor Spykman has probably gone farthest in attempting a real geopolitical analysis of the U. S. position in his book *America's Strategy in World Politics*. Spykman accepts, with certain modifications, the Mackinder system and warns that the conquest of the World-Island or any large section of it by a single power would mean disaster to the U. S. Since Monroe's time, he points out, the security of this hemisphere has rested on the fact that Europe has always been divided among several states. American policy, he advises, should be to keep either Europe or Asia from falling under the dominion of any one power, no matter how friendly that power might be today.

This policy parallels, on a grander scale, the historic policy of Britain toward the continent of Europe. It is cold-blooded power politics. It assumes that wars are inevitable and seeks to assure that the U. S. will hold the balance of power. To critics who condemn this policy as cold and brutal, Spykman replies: "Nations which renounce the power struggle and deliberately choose impotence will cease to influence international relations either for evil or for good."

Balance of power is indeed the time-honored (or dishonored) policy of the European states. But it is not the only policy which has been historically successful. Rome was not a balance of power. It was a *preponderant* power. There are many observers who think the U. S. and the British Empire, acting together, can hold preponderant power in the post-war world. At the time of the peace conference this may well be the case. But true disciples of Mackinder will wonder whether, over the years, the Heartland powers—Russia and China—will not rival Anglo-America.

There is a third alternative: world federation. This is the ideal of assorted dreamers, nice old ladies and Communists but also of many hard-headed, realistic statesmen. If the U. S. and Britain were to throw their great weight behind such a federation they could almost certainly get it started. To make it work, all the nations (the U. S. included) would have to give up some portion of their sovereign power in international affairs. Even then the federation's success would depend not only on goodwill but on high statesmanship and often real sacrifice by each of the member nations. But if it worked it would be the greatest achievement of statecraft in all history.

Whatever policy the American people elect, it must arise from a sure understanding of geopolitics. For no policy will result in a stable world and a lasting peace unless it is based on the geopolitical facts of this earth. That is why, like it or not, we are forced to study geopolitics and to act upon what we learn.

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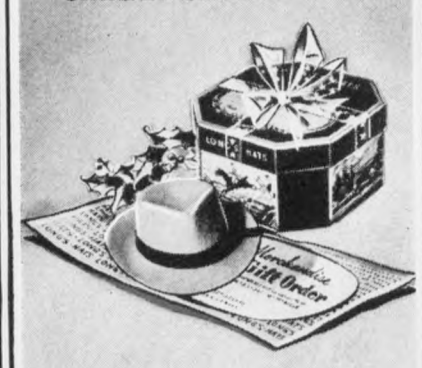

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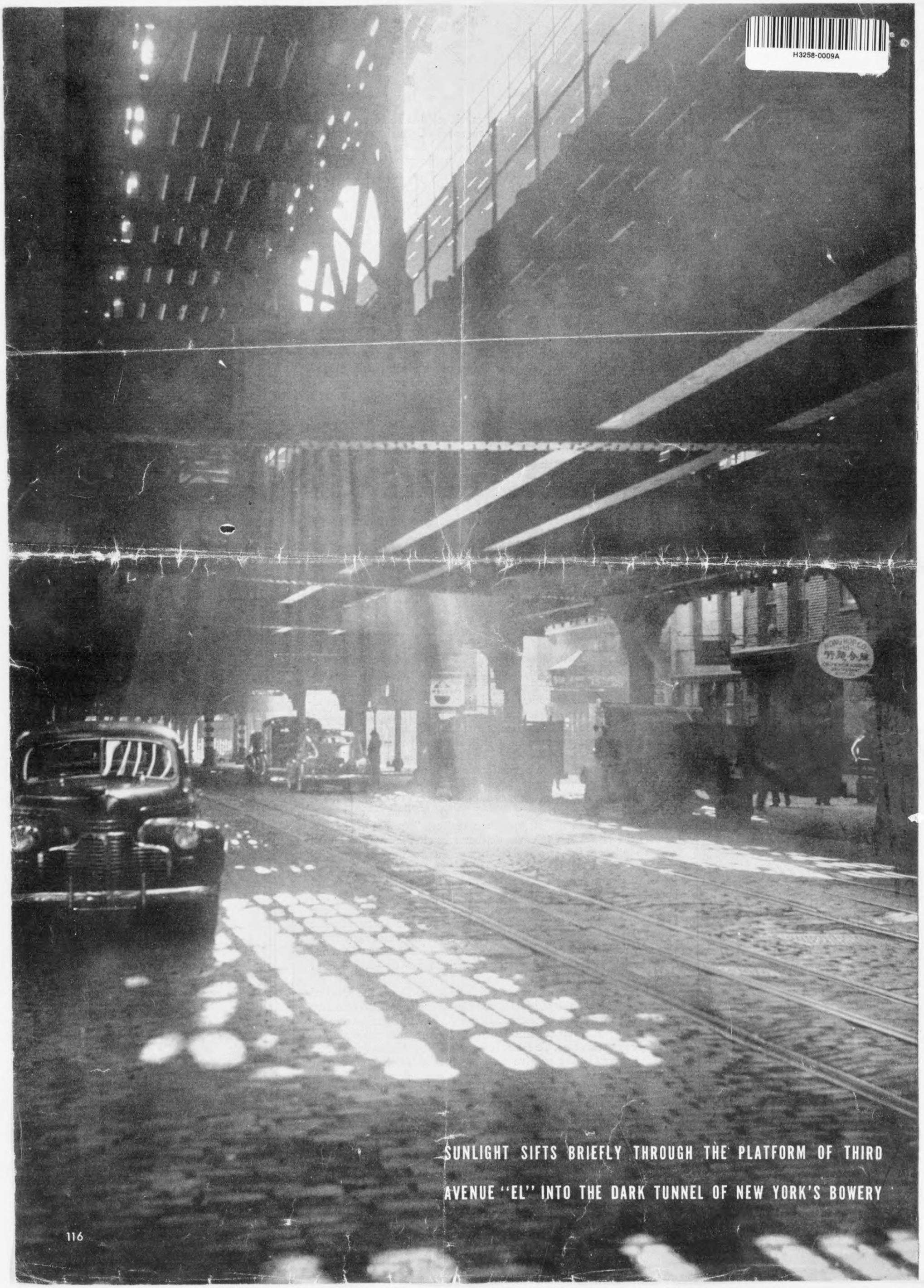

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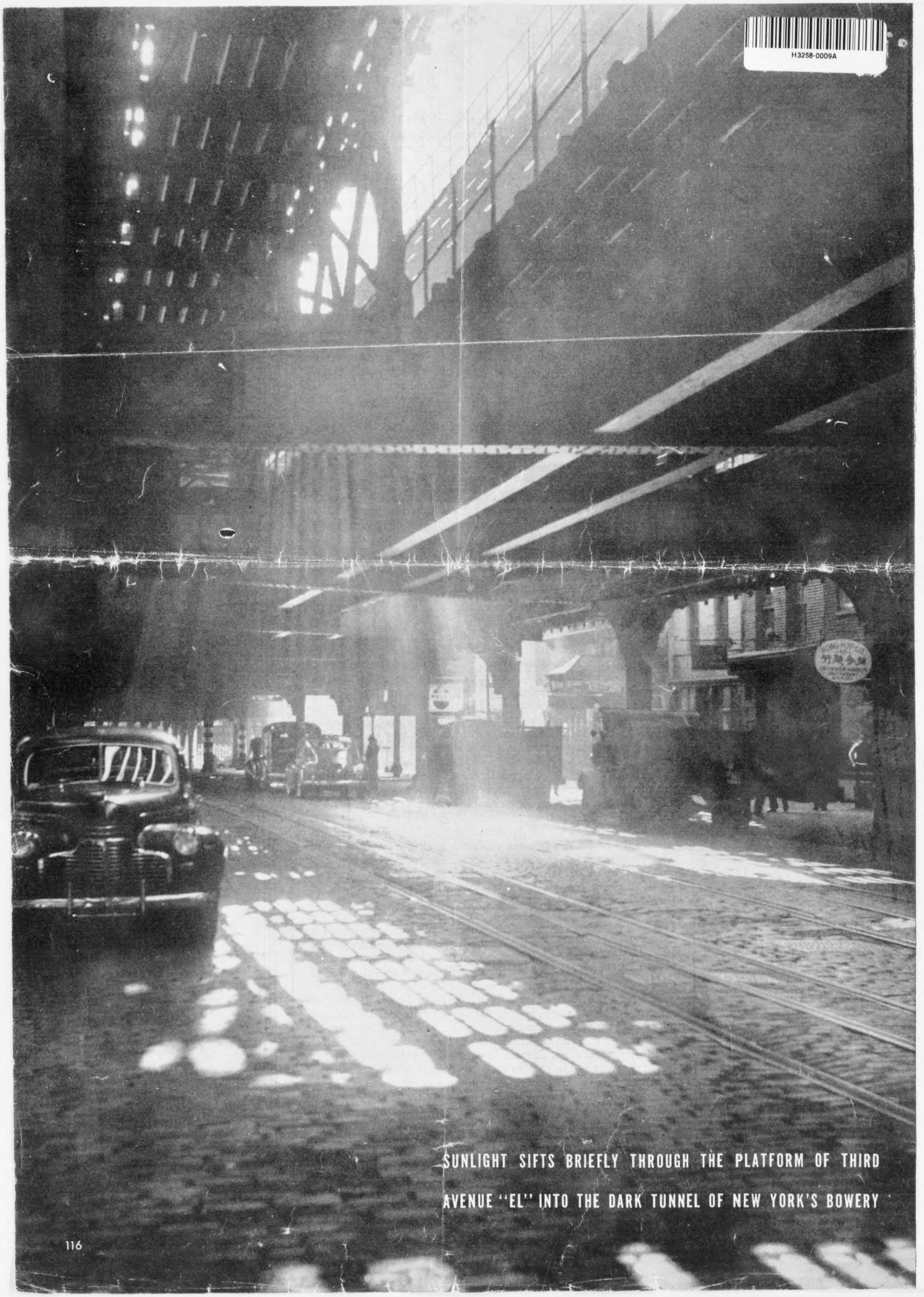

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H3258 – 0010

18 August 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN M. WEIR

SUBJECT: The case against KARL HAUSHOFER

General Karl Haushofer, the leading personality in the science of Geopolitics and the most versatile and skillful protagonist of National Socialism is a war criminal of a peculiar type and of a specially dangerous nature. Haushofer has acted behind the scenes most efficiently and has skillfully tried to camouflage his criminal activities under a scientific formalism, though actually carrying them on in research institutions, through "fifth columns", official and semi-official organizations in Germany, and by his services as an intimate advisor to Hitler, Hess and other policy-making Nazi leaders. Since he seldom appeared in public, few non-German people are familiar with his name and activities. Thus, in public opinion, his name was not associated with the commission of war crimes. It is, therefore, now of imperative importance for this office to unveil the criminal activities of Haushofer and to bring him before the bar of justice. Although additional investigation and questioning of witnesses (see Recommendations, infra) appear necessary to substantiate further some of the charges formulated below, the material gathered to date warrants the formulation of the following charges against Haushofer:

Charge I

As teacher and personal friend of Hess and as advisor to both Hitler and Hess, Haushofer induced Hitler to accept his geopolitical program and to integrate it into "Mein Kampf", as well as into public statements of policy by the Fuhrer and Chancellor; this program based on a distortion of geographical notions, on intellectual falsification of the relationships between population and space, and on incitement to unlawful territorial expansion and illegal war and annexations was carried out literally in the years 1938 to 1945. In particular, Haushofer prepared a plan for a global illegal war, by working constantly for the conclusion of a tripartite pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan; and to this end he provided military intelligence and strategic information, obtained through the working of his "Geopolitical Institute" and his agents in foreign countries.

Charge II

Haushofer has rationalised the doctrines of National Socialism as a world movement and has incited Nazi sympathizers in foreign countries to overthrow, by acts of violence, governments for the purpose of assuring foreign assistance to German plans of world domination and aggression.

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Charge III

As president of the organization of Germans living abroad (Volksbund für das Auslandsdeutschtum), as plenipotentiary of Hess in the Institute of Foreign Affairs (Deutsches Auslandinstitut, D.A.I.), and as president of the Academy for Scientific Research and Fostering of Germanism (Akademie fur Wissenschaftliche Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums) and acting in conspiracy with the German Government and the Nazi leaders, he trained fifth columnists and instructed Germans living in foreign countries for the purpose of disrupting the political, social, and economic structures of these countries, and of weakening them preliminary to their military, political or economic conquest by Germany.

Charge IV

As head of the "Ethnical German Council" (Volksdeutscher Rat), he conspired with the German Government and Nazi leaders in that he organized and prepared "Racial" Germans (Volksdeutsche) abroad to assume the role of advisors and participants in the administration and spoliation of the countries predestined for military occupation, in shich they were later organized in special registers (Deutsche Volksliste) forming the nucleus of space-conquering Germandom.

Charge V

As a leading member of the German Academy of Law (Akademie für Deutsches Recht) which was called upon by the German Government to draft laws, orders, and decrees, he contributed to the commission of war crimes by means of criminal legislation for the occupied countries, consisting mainly in planning procurement of space for German settlement by mass deportations of the local populations, by confiscating their properties and by their reallocation to German settlers.

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DISCUSSION OF CHARGE I

KARL HAUSHOFER has created a most elaborate and versatile pseudo-scientific system, rationalizing world conquest by Germany. He studied and later developed geography into a science of military and economic strategy. For Haushofer the study of geography and of population and of space were only a means to gather military intelligence, in order to be able to subjugate the areas under study to Germany's control. Geopolitics became thus a study of physical and human geography in its application to specific political and military purposes of German government and the German High Command.

Geopolitics as developed by Haushofer may be described as "nationalistic geography". One of his main interests was the relationship between the density of population and space. The following reasoning was used:

The density of population in Germany is higher than the density of population in other countries. Hence Germany must acquire new living space. The geopolitical maps published at the instigation of Haushofer show the problem of the disproportion between space and population in Germany and the proportion of population and space in other countries. The Geopolitical Historical Atlas, published in 1934, devotes page sixty to "People without Space", a favorite topic of Haushofer (document no. 5). A sharply shaded map entitled "Density of the Population in Europe" accompanied by a space map on "Density of Population in Germany" may appear sufficient to suggest Germany's "Need of Living Space". This map shows that to each square kilometer in Germany there are 139 persons; in Poland 80 persons, in the Southeast 48 persons, in the Northeast 32 persons, in the Soviet Union 8 persons. Despite this demonstration that Germany is overpopulated, a map and charter of the same space show that Germany's birthrate fell from 40 per thousand in 1870 to 14.3 per thousand in 1933. The accompanying text states that the falling birthrate is becoming a national danger. This implies that Haushofer's geopolitical school was not concerned, honestly, with the problem of securing normal living conditions for the existing German population, but the school was concerned with the expansion and dynamic outpouring of the German nation over all neighboring nations. Despite the lack of space, Haushofer wanted an increase in the German population because he believed that such an increase would help Germany to achieve the conquest of new space. He wanted to increase the density of the German population in order to accelerate the process of the military explosion and the expansion of the German element over large space.

The relationship between physical territory and population in geography was thus distorted by Haushofer's school for the purpose of military conquest and illegal war. This demanded living space would give Germany the possibility of settling a surplus of its population on one hand and on the other hand large spaces settled by Germany would create a strong German demographic block which would keep expanding over new spaces. Space and population, blood and soil, if organized according to the German pattern would become the greatest and strongest weapon for the purpose of achieving world domination by Germany. Haushofer recognized only a natural "right" of Germany to space. He was not concerned with legal rights and considerations of international law. His philosophy of expansion and acquisition of new space for Germany is essentially extralegal.

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Haushofer's conception of space is founded upon the central position of Germany in Europe and the inter-connections between the Fatherland and the newly acquired space serving ultimately to expand farther the territory of the Fatherland. According to Haushofer, Germany can master only such space which is immediately adjacent to it. Germany cannot master space which lies far away and which is separated from it by distant continents and seas. The idea of a "heart-land" is that Germany is the center of Europe and can radiate its power first of all into the surrounding areas and then, by controlling the European continent, Germany can control the world.

As a good geographer, Haushofer had a sense for military communication lines. As a military strategist he knew that overseas colonial possessions may become inaccessible in time of war because of blockades. He still had to reckon with the overwhelming naval strength of Great Britain and of the U.S.A. Therefore, Haushofer was essentially not in favor of colonies. He wanted colonies right in the heart of Europe, made out of areas conquered by Germany to the detriment and at the cost of her neighbors.

This conception of internal European colonization by Germany is a crucial point in evaluating the role of Haushofer and his influence in provoking World War II. Haushofer, the geopolitician, looked for allies in achieving his goal. He knew that Germany as a continental power could not achieve it without the help of other naval powers. The recognition of this fact was logical because of the potential existence as naval enemies of the United States and of Great Britain. As a military and naval strategist Haushofer turned to Japan and Italy. Haushofer knew Japan well from his early studies and from his residence in Japan.

The matter of Germany's relations to Japan is a significant example of Haushofer's guidance of Hitler. Japan was one of Haushofer's special fields and major interests. His doctor's thesis which appeared in 1914, discussed a subject connected with German-Japanese relations--the German share in the Geographical Opening-up of Japan and the sub-Japanese World Areas, and the Promotion thereof by the Influence of War and Military Policy. Haushofer's early and much read book "Dai Nippon", was followed by such works as: The Japanese Empire in its Geographical Development (1921); the Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean (1924, 2nd edition 1938); the Geopolitics of Self-Determination; the Restoration of South Eastern Asia in the Direction of Self Determination (1923); The Great Powers before and after the World War - Germany, Eastern Asia and others (1930); Japan's Development as World Power and Empire (1933); Old Japan - Development from its Early Period into a Pivot of Power (1933). A considerable number of magazine articles, published in the "Zeitschrift Für Geopolitik" and elsewhere, was devoted by Haushofer to the same subjects.

In an article published in the "Zeitschrift für Geopolitik" in 1940 Haushofer openly admitted that for a generation he had worked to achieve the aims laid down by the Tripartite Pact concluded in 1940 among Germany, Italy and Japan. He remarked that for a whole generation he had pursued "the geopolitical aim which Greater Germany, Italy and Japan achieved together on September 27, 1940". In this connection, he spoke of the help given him by "distinguished Germans living abroad" - a clear reference to members of his Association of Germans abroad. He also stated that the "Zeitschrift" for more than half a generation, "has never lost sight of this aim and has unceasingly pointed out the way to achieve it." Thus his own statements show that he considered himself successful in bringing about Hitler's concluding the Tripartite Pact.

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A part of Haushofer's interest in Japan lay in its resources of space and manpower. One of the particular reasons for his satisfaction with the Tripartite Pact was the fact that the signatory Powers together controlled "a block of space consisting of more than 3,000,000 square kilometers, and filled with purposefully led, self-sufficient manpower" (Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 1940, No. 10). In many statements, Haushofer expressed interest in an alliance with Japan which would make each supreme in its own hemisphere, would enable Germany to avenge itself for Versailles, and would bring about a "punishing justice" to be felt by "our merciless economic and political enemies and oppressors". In the same article, quoted above, he remarks:

> "Considering those who are of pure stock and who eagerly desire military preparedness, about 200 million men are ready to use their entire energy for the final success of the Tripartite Union; while another 108 million are at its disposal as labor forces. No world empire hitherto has reached these figures of real and complete preparedness."

A map published in Haushofer's Zeitschrift shows the great lines of his global strategy (document 5-A). The Italo-German thrust into Egypt had its final goal in meeting with the Japanese army in India. Thus, the greatest part of the world would be brought by one strike under the control of the Axis powers.

Haushofer's school pointed out to the German public and the German military staff the importance of Pearl Harbor in the future war with Japan as an ally. On page 54 of the Geopolitical Historical Atlas of 1934, appears a map entitled "The Pacific, the Sea of Decision" (document 5-B). The arrangement of this map emphasizes the importance and the isolation of Pearl Harbor and the attached legends almost invite Japan to attack at that point. Lines which converged at Pearl Harbor are described respectfully as "directions in which Japanese immigration moves" and "transoceanic power lines of the United States". A large region is marked off as "former German colonial territory in the South Seas". Dutch Harbor and Singapore, either of which is a conceivable point of attack by Japan, are shown as clearly as the Panama Canal. No other cities or points of interest are shown in either North or South America. As a final encouragement to Japan, China, various additional land, Mexico, Central America and the whole western part of South America are shown as Japanese spheres of influence".

In 1940 Haushofer stated that he had worked for this plan for a generation. This period significantly covers the time when Hitler started his political activities in organizing the Nazi party. It covers also the period when Hitler and his friend and associate, Hess, were arrested as a result of the "Beer Hall Putsch" in 1923. At that time, Haushofer often paid visits to Hitler and Hess in their prison. If Hess were to be questioned on the topic of these long conversations he might reveal their real significance and importance in formulating the ideology of world conquest as embodied in "Mein Kampf".

One should not overlook the fact that "Mein Kampf" was supposed to have been written in prison by a man with a very limited education, without experience in international affairs, without knowledge of foreign countries. Obviously, such man could not have written "Mein Kampf". Actually it was Haushofer who was versed in the problems of the German position in the world. Being a teacher and a friend of Hess he also influenced Hitler through Hess, to whom Hitler "dictated" the book. Thus, Haufhofer's influence upon Hitler was two-fold, direct and indirect through Hess.

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Many passages in "Mein Kampf" echo Haushofer's teachings. In document No. 3 a few such passages are given in translation. They show that Hitler was determined to enlarge Germany by seizing land in Europe; that he appreciated the "geopolitical significance of a focal centre"; that he was concerned with the relation between Germany's population and her soil, that he desired more "living space" for Germany; that he thought of "geo-military expediency"; that he looked upon boundaries as "fortuitous" and changing; that world-power involves magnitude; and that Germany should be the only "continental power" in Europe. All these concepts are traceable to Haushofer as can be seen by examining selections from his works which are appended hereto.

The formation of Hitler's ideas by Haushofer was so complete that not only concepts, but words and phrases, frequently used by Haushofer and his followers, are incorporated into the works of Hitler. An exhibit consisting of translated passages from both Hitler and Haushofer (document No. 4) shows in parallel columns how Hitler's expressions echoed Haushofer's on such subjects as: the historical argument that Germany should have all land originally settled by Germans, the linking of claims regarding "living space" to foreign policy, the economic relations of Germany to Eastern Europe as both buyer and seller, the importance of young people to the National Socialist movement, the uselessness of small states, self-determination for Germany, the relation between food and population, the geopolitical significance of capital cities, the importance of a flexible program, "blood and soil", the importance of great spaces to "freedom", and the primacy of action as opposed to intellectualism.

That Haushofer influenced Hitler's views on Japan also can be seen from the fact that Haushofer was already in 1923 the great German expert on Japan. Before 1923 Haushofer had already published a multitude of works dealing with Japan.[1]

Hitler and Hess are not the only persons whose thinking was guided and formed by Haushofer. Using his Geopolitical Institute, he provided valuable information about foreign countries to various institutions and agencies of the German government. Direct evidence that he provided such information to the German military staff must be provided by further investigation. The famous "Strategical Index", a master file of strategical information for the entire world, is known to have existed at the Institute in Munich. Furthermore, as Brigadier General of the Wehrmacht from the time of the First World War he had connections and exercised authority in the German General Staff.

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1) For example: "Der deutsche Anteil an der geographischen Erschliessung Japans und des subjapanischen Erdraums, und deren Förderung durch den Einfluss von Krieg und Wehrpolitik". Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in München, Band 9 (1914).

"The German Share in the Geographical Opening-up of Japan and the sub-Japanese World Areas, and the Promotion thereof by the Influence of War and Military Policy".

"Dai Nippon: Betrachtungen über Gross Japans Wehrkraft, Weltstellung, und Zukunft. Berlin: Mittler, 1913--Japan: Reflections upon Greater Japan's War Power, World Position, and Future".

"Das Japanische Reich in seiner geographischen Entwicklung. Vienna: Seidel, 1921. --The Japanese Empire in its Geographical Development."

"Zur Geopolitik der Selbstbestimmung: Südost-Asiens Wiederaufstieg zur Selbstbestimmung. München und Leipzig: Posl, 1923--On the Geopolitics of Self-Determination : The restoration of Southeastern Asia in the Direction of Self-Determination."

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On the other hand, through his geopolitical institute, he sought with great success to educate both the masses of the German people and the so-called intellectuals to accept his point of view. For the masses and for some persons of considerable education, he encouraged the production of maps bearing propaganda of various kinds. His patronage of the German People's Map Service, his approval of many maps published by the "Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik" under his auspices, and his final responsibility for a large number of maps published through the Institute for Geopolitics, add up to another way in which he disseminated ideas that laid the foundation for Hitler's aggressive warfare. An early article by Haushofer on "The Suggestive Map" shows that he appreciated the full value of visual propaganda. Maps prepared by the Institute and by all the sources mentioned, as well as maps used in many atlases and schoolbooks, present geopolitical concepts originated by Haushofer and his followers. The strategic importance of Pearl Harbor is pointedly emphasized by these maps and the doctrines of National Socialism are skillfully presented in many different ways. (Document No. 5-B.)

For intellects of less simplicity than those which accepted mere maps, Haushofer provided mental fare of another kind. At the Institute for Geopolitics, a large staff of research workers spent their time in gathering, organizing, and interpreting every kind of material of geopolitical interest.

That Hitler accepted and appreciated the guidance and the information which Haushofer gave him, is clear not only from the way in which he followed the advice and used the materials, but also from his treatment of Haushofer after he took over the government of Germany. He at once made Haushofer president of the German Academy, and provided a handsome building and lavish financial support for the Institute of Geopolitics at Munich. Although Haushofer's wife is partly Jewish, she and the two Haushofer sons were officially declared "Aryans". The sons were allowed to pursue careers which only the favor of Hitler could have opened to them. During the National Socialist regime an Association of Workers in Geopolitics, consisting of persons in various parts of Germany, kept in close touch with the Institute of Geopolitics at Munich.

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DISCUSSION OF CHARGE II

Haushofer denies now that he was a Nazi. This denial is however refuted by his own writings which indicate that he was the braintruster of the National Socialist Movement since its inception. He framed the foreign policy of the National Socialist movement. Ample evidence against Haushofer in this respect is to be found in his forty-eight page booklet, "The National Socialist Idea in the World" which appeared as one of the first of a series of monographs published by the Deutsche Akademie. This series issued "with the approval and personal participation of Hess, had thus the character of a semi-official publication (See documents 6, 7, 20).

This booklet has a manifold purpose. It seeks to show: (1) the geopolitical foundations of National Socialist Ideologies and movements as the principle reason for the rise and developing of said ideologies and movements, (2) the similarity of conditions in Italy, Germany and Japan which caused the rise of these movements, (3) the beginning of similar movements in other countries either through local causes or under instigation of Germany, Italy and Japan, (4) the possibilities and advisability of the spread of National Socialist ideologies abroad, certain obstacles thereto, and ways and means of furthering the spread of such ideologies.

Haushofer begins by stating that after the "National Renewals" in Italy, Germany, and Japan, the "German spark has already ignited South Africa", and that other countries, such as Switzerland, China and India, have already shown the beginnings of National Socialist fascist movements. He finds that everywhere, almost universally, where the proportion between population and agricultural soil is unfavorable, where there is "pressure" for expansion either because of given geo-political conditions as in Japan, or of "unjust and stupid" frontiers and "lack of Lebensraum" as in the case of Germany, the rise of a National Socialist Movement is inevitable; while in sparsely settled countries like the Americas or Australia the situation is less favorable to its rise. In contrast to Mussolini's theory that fascism is no "export article", Haushofer declares that National Socialism, though arising from nationalistic impulses, is nevertheless worldwide; in this connection he mentions the similarity of symbols: the black shirts in Italy, the brown shirts in Germany, the gray shirts in Switzerland. Even where there are only beginnings of fascism, as in Spain, he says related impulses can be found and furthered, in spite of the mistaken belief predominant in Spain and elsewhere, that Spanish Fascism is only intellectual.

Haushofer practically draws a map showing other nations how to promote National Socialist Movements. He sarcastically remarks that the stupidity of adversaries will produce fuel for a national conflagration, as, for instance, in Austria.

The first goal of National Socialism, he says, is to reach all related "racial elements"; and all "White Books" by parliaments cannot stop this, any more than a "Keep Off" sign can stop the outbreak of a volcano. Here is a clear incitement

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to the spreading of National Socialism, in disregard of the will of other nations as expressed by their parliaments. In this connection, Haushofer states that geopolitics and National Socialism have the same roots, since they have arisen from the same needs and their goals are largely parallel.

The study continues to point out ways for expanding the National Socialist idea in the world, by giving an analysis of the forms taken by national movements abroad, and of other foreign national forces. Haushofer indicates that these may be given the desired direction and exploited for National Socialist purposes. Drawing a world chart of National Socialism, he says, would show the magnitude of the task, but would also disclose the goals of National Socialist propaganda.

Haushofer states that, as a geopolitician, he was not surprised by the advent of National Socialism, a form of life which he had demanded as early as 1924, in an article which he had published in the periodical, Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik. He adds that the philosophy of National Socialism, as Hess formulated it, though in somewhat different forms in various nations, will dominate the remainder of the world.

Directing his words to the Germans abroad, he says that the German abroad knows why he looks beyond the barriers of Europe and demands the world as the sphere of his activity. He uses the biblical command: "Go and tell all people", in telling the Germans living abroad that they - like apostles - must spread the teachings of National Socialism throughout the world.

Chapters III and IV of the above mentioned booklet, investigate the possibilities of spreading National Socialism in countries dominated by other ideologies, from the three centers of National Socialism, Germany, Italy and Japan. Haushofer shows that the possibilitiesand conditions for such spread were different in the different countries. The expansion of both Italy and Japan, under the "pretext of security" (Trieste, Manchuria) was tolerated by the world powers, while Germany's expansion in trying to regain her own national territory was violently opposed.

Analyzing the possibility of spreading National Socialism in countries which do not lack space, Haushofer declares that in spite of various unfavorable conditions there are certain points on which to start: in India, by promotion of a will for racial and religious unity and independence; in America, Australia, Sourth Africa by the promotion of social cleavages within the population, for instance between "red and green fronts" (labor and farmer). He recommends that old ideas regarding the "right of nations to self-determination" shall be utilized by coordinating them with National Socialist ideas, as a protection against "World Revolutionary" doctrines and "Dollar politics"; in other words, he accepts the Nazi propaganda line of National Socialism, as a bulwark against both Bolshevism and political democracy.

Furthermore, Haushofer says that National Socialist economy is the only savior for all nations, after the collapse of the "Free Trade" world economic system. With the thinly veiled threat that the era of the airplane will make economic and armament centers of the world extremely vulnerable to bombings, he demands international economic collaboration with Nazi Germany, which otherwise would go "hand in hand" with those "kindred in spirit"--that is, Italy, Japan, and the conquered countries.

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The clever utilization, influencing and persuading of circles advocating "Pan-ideas" such as Pan-Slavism, etc.) is suggested as another means of spreading National Socialism. In Haushofer's opinion, these ideas will succumb to "political-scientific" persuasion.

In his concluding paragraphs, Haushofer reiterates a favorite national socialist doctrine- "Action is everything; glory, nothing". He again refers to his advocacy of a National Socialist form of life in 1924, and states that in demanding "the rule of the Best," he was consciously thinking of those leaders who were then interned in the fortress of Landsberg, or were in exile (after their conviction for participation in the abortive 1923 "Beer Hall Putsch".

Haushofer's booklet on the National Socialist Idea in the World may be considered an elaborate plan to use National Socialism in the service of German foreign policy. It was followed most scrupulously by the Nazi Government. The National Socialist parties which the Germans have organized in other countries, especially in the border countries and their sympathizers were acting as a channel for German political penetration. Such parties were organized in Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. These parties took hold of the governments in Hungary and Rumania, have largely influenced the governments of Bulgaria, have tried to take hold of the government of Yugoslavia in April, 1941. Later on, the governments controlled by the local Nazi parties directly and indirectly by Germany have joined the Axis and have helped Germany to wage aggressive war and have worked for the idea and the plan of world domination by Germany. In the case of Slovakia, the local Nazis party helped to bring this country after the collapse of Czechoslovakia under the control and domination of Germany. Thus, the plan of Haushofer, to use National Socialism as a means of world conquest, was well taught and elaborated.

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DISCUSSION OF CHARGE III

Haushofer's part in organizing subversive activities abroad on behalf of the German government was carried out mainly by the following agencies:

a) The Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA). Haushofer became Reich-Leader of the VDA in 1938. (See document no. 9). The VDA originally was an independent organization which until the advent of Nazism functioned as a relief agency for Germans abroad subsidizing German schools, needy Germans, etc. In 1933 it became co-ordinated and integrated with the Nazi organization by an exchange of officials with the Hitler Youth (document no. 10A) and by electing Dr. Hans Steinacher as Reichführer, predecessor of Haushofer; Steinacher was a prominent member of the Nazi Party's foreign organization; he later also became representative of the "Ethnic German Council" whose tasks are described below. The complete Nazification of the V.D.A. can be seen from the reports on the Passau Meeting in 1933 (document no. 11) and Steinacher's speech at this meeting as well as from an official pamphlet of the V.D.A. "Nature and Significance of the V.D.A.", excerpts of which are contained in documents 11, 12.

In this booklet issued in 1933 the work of the V.D.A. abroad is described in a rather guarded manner as "bringing as many students as possible to Germany on scholarships and sending its own representatives abroad". But in spite of its guarded form, this official booklet lists the subsidizing of "German Houses" abroad as one of its main tasks, the same German Houses, which later proved to be centers of "Bundism", Fifth Columns, and espionage activities. And its Fifth Column character is clearly shown by the answer the author of this official V.D.A. pamphlet gives to this question: "Why a strong V.D.A.?" Because this outwardly independent organization can do work with which the government and the party may not be officially connected lest they be politically compromised". (document no. 11, p.3)

Nevertheless, inside Germany the V.D.A.'s position was strengthened considerably by an official order by Reich Interior Minister Frick to the governments of the then still existing provincial states to give all possible co-operation to the V.D.A. (See document no. 10B.) A copy of this order was given the German Foreign Office as indication as to the importance of the work of the V.D.A. for Germany's foreign policy.

Steinacher defined the tasks of the V.D.A. in his Passau speech: "Between the Germans within and those outside there is only a difference in function. Every German folk-group will have to collaborate in a world task of Germanism".

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The V.D.A. official pamphlet as well as Steinacher's speech show the ideological goals of the V.D.A. to be identical with those of Nazism and of Haushofer. That is to unite again the Germans abroad into the German racial corpus, ideologically at first, and to prepare the geographical unity later. Thus when Haushofer took over the leadership of the V.D.A. in 1938 a well prepared tool was given to him for the realization of his criminal plans, a tool which he further perfected and effectively used.

b) The Deutsche Ausland-Institut (DAI). In addition to being an old member of the D.A.I., Haushofer occupied a special position therein as plenipotentiary of Hess, Hitler's deputy. (document no. 14). The D.A.I. formed in Stuttgart for research and scientific cultivation of Germanism abroad, actually was one of the most active propaganda and fifth column agencies. It took an outstanding part in the organization of broadcasts to foreign countries (document no. 19), kept files on all Germans living abroad, particularly as to their reliability as Nazis (document no. 19), coordinated emigration, collected information about other countries and maintained the contact with other countries by means of official and individual correspondence (document no. 18). Foreign agents were trained in special training camps and the D.A.I. also trained instructors for the "Ordensburgen," the Führer schools of Germany (document no. 15)

The D.A.I. was clearly linked with Nazism. The local Gauleitung was prepared to "cooperate fully with the D.A.I.," (document no. 17) and in addition to Haushofer's powers as plenipotentiary of Hitler's deputy, there was a complete tie-up with the National Socialist Party's own foreign organization, the Ausland Organization, (AO) (document no. 23). The AO was the "GAU" for all Party members abroad; all Germans outside the Reich, when becoming Party members, were organized in this "GAU" under the direction of Bohle. By Reich law (document no. 25), all Germans abroad were required to register. Also by a Reich law the AO was given official status as part of the Foreign Ministry (document no. 8), with its leader Gauleiter Bohle attaining the rank of a Minister of State. Thus, this AO, the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP became the main arm of the party and the German government abroad, and the D.A.I. with Haushofer as main coordinator as delegate of Hess, "who was intrusted by the Fuehrer with the supreme direction of all matters concerning Germans in foreign countries" (document no. 27) did the scientific propaganda, espionage spade work for it. In his speech as plenipotentiary of Hess (document no. 14) at the D.A.I. meeting in 1935, Haushofer stresses that the goal of the D.A.I. and V.D.A. is to bring about pro-Nazi governments abroad, a goal for the attainment of which he demands the unified work of the assembled members of the D.A.I.

c) Haushofer was appointed, by Hitler, as President of the "Deutsche Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und Pflege des Deutschtums" (German Academy for Scientific Research and Promotion of Germanism), also called, for short, Deutsche Akademie or German Academy. It was not as the name might imply, a mere institution of science and learning. It had quite different purposes and was divided in a scientific and a "practical" department. The scientific division studied Germanism abroad and "in the frontier regions", which research embraced all fields of science and culture, while the tasks of the practical department were "propaganda and the expansion of Germanism in the widest sense". It sponsored new groups, so-called "Friends of the Academy" abroad, supported groups

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With special aims, among others a society of "Friends of the Theater" in Memel, a theater in Riga, and the Herder Institute in the same city. A periodical "Baltisches Geistesleben" appearing in Reval was subsidized as well as a Hispano-German Medical Journal published in Spain. The publication of German books abroad, instructional tours in Germany for foreigners and tours abroad for Germans, scholarships and fellowships were financed by the Academy. "It started with initially disinterested research, but with the fixed intention of obtaining fruitful and immediate results." (Levy on the "Friends of the Academy", in "Le Germanisme a l'Etranger (p. 123, 125). Among other organizations abroad benefitted by the Academy were German museums and institutes in Transylvania. Books were collected in Germany and sent to Luxembourg, Kovno, and other frontier regions as nuclei of German libraries to be established there.

The Goethe Institut, a department of the Academy, trained German teachers to spread Nazi German ideologies abroad; the Academy itself collaborated to a great extent with foreigh chambers of commerce and other official and semi-official organizations. Its research was oriented to the South-East, a Balkan-Lexikon was published and a Handbook of the East was being prepared.

Of special interest is a report on the 1936 General Meeting of the Akademie, held in Breslau, which in excerpts appeared in "Das Archiv" issue of October 12, 1936 (document no. 16). In this report, made by Haushofer, the Academy's close cooperation with the Deutsche Ausland's Institut was stressed, as well as the acquisition of new affiliations in Mexico, and the grateful recognition awarded the Academy's work by the Foreign Ministry. After Haushofer, the Bavarian Prime Minister Siebert became President of the Academy, who in turn was succeeded by Dr. Seyss-Inquart, Austian quisling, and Governor of the Netherlands. Among the "honorary members" of the Academy can be found Dr. Schacht, and Ritter von Epp, Seyss-Inquart, Admiral Roeder and other high Nazi Dignitaries. Later on, the Academy became a public corporation of the Reich, thus ehhancing its official status, prestige and powers. It was extremely active in Austria where, at a 1943 meeting, Gauleiter Dr. Rainer stated that a close associatioh of Austrian cultural organizations with the Akademie had existed for a long time, while another speaker, the Vice-Pres. of the Akademie stressed that the East and Southeast Europe have for years been a particularly important sphere of activity for the Deutsche Akademie.

Haushofer thus occupied a very powerful position as organizer and Führer of the Germans abroad. His intimate knowledge of the foreign countries and his geopoliticsl views and his conception of conquest qualified him particularly for this job. By getting control over millions of Germans abroad he could proceed with his plans of preparing the conquest of these countries by weakening them from within through subversive activities, economic and political penetration, carried out by local Germans under Haushofer's orders.

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DISCUSSION OF CHARGE IV

In 1933, Hitler entrusted to Hess the supreme direction of all matters concerning Germanism abroad. A large part of this work had to be done secretly. By a confidential decree Hess established an "Ethnic German Council" (document no. 27), as an executive and consulting agency for this work. The council was not to appear in public and it was headed by Haushofer. As liaison to outside agencies Hess appointed Hans Steinacher, then the leader of the V.D.A. and a prominent man in the foreign work of the Nazi Party. This council was the executive organ of all undercover work connected with "Ethnic Germans" i.e. Volksdeutsche, Germans who were Germans by race but citizens of other countries. These "Volksdeutche" were registered in so-called "Volkslisten" (document no. 28) and the files of Haushofer's Deutsches Ausland Institut (D.A.I.) were a helpful source for the collection of the voters. The lists later on played an important part in the subjugation and exploitation of the conquered territories. From them were selected Auxiliary Police (Sonderdienst), "stool pigeons", "quislings", and "stooges" as well as administrative and judicial officials.

The "Volksdeutsche" on this list in turn were rewarded by special privileges, economically, politically and financially. They were called upon to "administer" confiscated property, their places of business were entitled to carry a sign "Deutsches Geschäft" (German Business) which, of course, caused them to have a virtual monopoly on the trade in the occupied countries to the disadvantage and final economic ruin of the local business men. These Volksdeutsche were also subsidized for demographic purposes. Since the Germans wanted to increase their number rapidly, they received special subsidies for every child born and special tax exemptions were granted to encourage large families (document no. 29).

By heading up the Ethnic German Council, Haushofer organized Germans in the neighboring countries of Germany for exploitation and criminal activities in these countries, and he is responsible for such criminal acts.

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DISCUSSION OF CHARGE V

HAUSHOFER was a charter member of the "Akademie für Deutsches Recht", the Academy for German Law (Doc. 32, membership list published in the Academy's yearbook 1933/4, on p. 254). There were four classes of members (see Doc. 33/34), and Haushofer was a "regular" member - that is, he belonged to the first, most important, policy making class, containing 200 outstanding personalities under the leadership of the Chief of the Legal Section of the National Directorate of the NSDAP, Hans Frank, later the Reich Minister of Justice and Governor-General of Poland. The Academy, originally incorporated in Bavaria, was declared to be a Reich Corporation of Public Law by the Law of 11-7-34, (Doc. 38) which was signed by Hitler and Guertner. This law gave it an official status, making it practically an arm of the government.

Section 2 of the by-laws (see Doc. 34) states the main task of the Academy:

"To propose, examine, draw up, and elaborate laws",

in which task all regular members had to play an important part. More specifically, according to the above cited law of 11-7-34, the Academy's task was to "realize in constant close collaboration with the competent legislative organs, the National Socialist program in the entire sphere of the Law".

An elaboration on the purposes of the Academy can be found in an article published in its periodical on the occasion of the promulgation of the Law of Incorporation of 11-7-34. This article stresses particularly t that the Academy is not an Academy in the usual sense of the word, i.e. an institution of mere learning and science, but that its task is to take part in "the creation of a body of law . . .knowing no other objective or goal than the weal and greatness of the German Reich. The article stresses also that the Academy will have to supplant to a great extent the function of parliamentary bodies in legislation since parliament has "stepped into the background". (See Doc. 31)

Haushofer was not a lawyer or legal scholar. His position then as a "regular" member of the body which was to draw up the laws of the Reich is of particular significance. He was called upon to apply his "large space" policies, his geopolitical ideas in the legislation of Germany and of the conquered territories and as shown specifically below, much of this legislation is an expression of his space policies. He himself, in an article in the periodical of the Akademie für Deutsches Recht defines his task in the Academy by saying that the basic legal foundations of a nation (Rechtsboden) are frequently far behind the fighting spirit and that the gulf between the two must be bridged. He then continues that in such case the layman who is a geopolitical expert must help in bridging this gulf and to bring about that the legal foundations, i.e. the legal system of the State, are in tune with its fighting spirit and general emotionalism (Seelenstimmung), that is The National Socialist Ideology. (Doc. 35/36.)

The Akademie für Deutsches Recht fulfilled the task it set for itself, i.e. to draw up legislation according to the National Socialist and Haushofer's policies. This can be seen not only from the legislation itself as shown below, but also from an article published in "The Voelkischer Beobachter" on its 10th anniversary in which the Minister of Justice, Thierack, stressed that the Academy in these ten years had become "the focus of the work shaping German legislation". (Doc. 39)

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Haushofer's idea of conquering space for the German Reich and the German people could be carried out only through internal European colonization. Haushofer was not in favor of creating colonial areas far away from the German Reich. Under his influence Hitler accepted this point of view instead of carrying the German national energies into distant African areas and instead of elaborating plans for settling Germans in Africa Haushofer and after him Hitler preferred to colonize the territories of the neighbors of Germany. As they had decided to go to war it seemed more practical for them to conquer and colonize by Germans Poland, Yugoslavia, Luxemburg, Alsace, Lorraine and other European countries. Obviously great numbers of the natives had to be removed and that was practically done by the gauleiters and military governors under German occupation.

This colonization process was carried out at the instigation of Haushofer through an elaborate administrative machinery. This plan covered forcible ousting of people from their homes and deportation, confiscation of properties, resettlement of Germans on the empty lands, and reallocation of the vacated property to the Germans. A great number of orders and decrees implemented these policies of Haushofer.

An analysis of some of the laws and decrees issued by the German authorities in the occupied countries shows that they are a direct application of Haushofer's demands for planning and integrating great areas into the possession of the German Reich and the German people.

The decree of March 16, 1939, which established a Protectorate of the post-Munich remnants of Czechoslovakia (signed by Hitler, Frick, Ribbentrop and Lammers), (Doc. 40) repeats Haushofer's claim that this area always belonged to the living space of the German people. The Protectorate itself, (Doc. 40) which was the first to be established over a European nation, reveals the signs of Haushofer's thinking. It bears a striking resemblance to the Protectorate established by Japan over Korea in 1905,[1] a regime much admired by Haushofer and concerning which he was well informed. It is evident that his expert knowledge was employed in establishing the Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia. Haushofer's claim for organizing space as an element of national expansion was already earlier realized through the law of March 29, 1935, which was later on May 14, 1940 extended to the occupied countries. This law promulgated Haushofer's principles: "Earth and soil are the foundation of the German people and of the Reich", and sanctioned a policy of assuring the "proper" development of German space.

The space planning law introduced into the incorporated parts of Poland, rationalized the criminal acts of annexation by stressing Haushofer's concepts of living space for the German people. The same element is even more clearly enunciated in Himmler's decree of November 26, 1940, (Doc. 42) promulgated in the parts of Poland which were annexed to Germany. This decree stated "The controlling consideration in connection with every new arrangement made in the Eastern territories is the broadening and strengthening of Germanism". The same decree provides: "The development of a sound system of rural communities (village life) is of decisive importance to the rebuilding and strengthening of Germanism. Above all, this system must guarantee to the farming class, as the strong foundation for the development of the nation, security against debt and against the breaking up of property through inheritance; and must give it the natural conditions under which it can fulfill its functions of biological, social and economic production for the nation as a whole."

The decree issued by Reichcommissioner Lohse in the Ostland (Baltic countries and part of White Russia) on July 6, 1942 established an organization for planning of "space and land" in order to provide for the Ostland

1) See document no. 40 a

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comprehensive and systematic plans and arrangements for the redevelopment of space, and at the same time to bring all measures affecting land into harmony with the requirements of the interests of the Reich". (See Doc. 43.) This planning involves the use of land and property both for public and private purposes according to racial German principles. That means that only people of German race are to enjoy full control over the land and its riches. The native population of some of the areas annexed to the Greater German Reich (Alsace Lorraine, Eupen, Moresnet, Malmedy, Western Poland) was forcibly removed and their properties confiscated and given to German settlers. In the annexed parts of Poland the office of each governor had a special section for settlement and reallocation of realty. The Frenchmen who were removed from Lorraine in order to give living space to German settlers were deprived of their properties (see Doc. 48). In Luxembourg property and business enterprises could not be owned by persons who were not willing to "promote Germanism without reservations".

These orders and decrees, criminal in their content, are to be ascribed not only to the people who signed them, but also to the man who laid down the criminal policies of which they were merely an administrative expression. One should not overlook the fact that Haushofer always claimed that geopolitics ought to be applied in practice. His membership in the Academy of German Law was for him the best opportunity to supplement his criminal plans through coercive legislation. And there was no better occasion to implement Haushofer's polices than the regime of military occupation while the greatest part of Europe was controlled by Germany.

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RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO FURTHER INVESTIGATION IN HAUSHOFER'S CASE

In spite of the great amount of published writings of Haushofer, the evidence collected thus far indicates that a large and very important sector of his work was done in secret. On many occasions he stresses this himself: "Action is all - glory nothing", while other activities of his are kept secret upon higher orders or because of their Fifth Column nature. The decree establishing the "Ethnic German Council" under Haushofer's direction, for instance, expressly states that this council is not to appear in public. Therefore, the task of producing additional evidence is an involved one. It is recommended, on the basis of this preliminary report that a thorough investigation of the case against Haushofer be made along the following lines: A search should be made and available officials should be questioned in the following agencies:

1) The "Ethnic German Council" (probably "Volkdeutscher Rat") for specific instances of its activities and Haushofer's part therein, as manifested in directives, letters, orders to make payments, appointments of staff, reports to higher authority (Hess, upon whose orders it was established), recommendations to be coordinated, sub-ordinated to superior government and party organizations.

2) The Volksbund für das Auslands-Deutschtum (V.D.A.) particularly for the period since 1938, for Haushofer directives, reports from and to him, evidence of preparation of the impending war by demands for information and reports from V.D.A. members abroad or Germans traveling abroad, collections of such information, reports as to financial support and requests for such support by German "cultural" or other organizations from which in the occupied countries later Auxiliary Police were drawn or which were treated preferentially after the occupation.

3) The D.A.I. in Stuttgart for evidence of similar type as described under 1), 2), also for financial records showing support of foreign Nazi organizations like the NSB in Holland, etc.

4) The Deutsche Akademie, for copies of seditious propaganda for distribution abroad as well as for the same type of evidence as under 1, 2, 3.

5) The Institute für Geopolitik for the "Strategical Index", and other strategic intelligence material, indicating the Institute's activity as an espionage and intelligence gathering agency.

6) The Akademie für Deutsches Recht for correspondence with Haushofer, submitting to him drafts of legislation for his opinion, or opinions by him, or requests from him as to legislation or the necessity thereof especially as to space planning and colonization.

7) The Reich Ministry of Justice for material as described under 6).

8) The Reich Office for planning of space (Reichstelle für Raumordnung).

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9) The Nazi Foreign Organization for links with the institutions mentioned under 1 - 5 and 8, and Haushofer himself.

10) The files of the Italian geopolitical magazine "Geopolitica" should be seized and the Italian friends and collaborators of Haushofer should be questioned on their relations with Haushofer and their work for the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact. The office of the Geopolitica is in Rome, Corso Umberto 173. It is significant that the Geopolitica was printed in Milan by a German firm, Sperling and Kupfer. The files and correspondence of this printing firm should also be searched. The following persons should be questioned as close collaborators of Haushofer:

Professor Ugo Morichini, editor of "Geopolitica" in Rome, Silvio Pellico 42.

Professor Ernesto Massi, in Milan, Carducci 28.

Professor Giorgio Roletto, director of the "Geopolitica" in Trieste.

11) The files of the Geopolitical Institute in Japan (called in Japanese Nippon Chisei-Gaku Kwokay, address: Nishikanda, Japan) should be seized and the director of the institute, Ueda Yoshitake, should be questioned as to his relations with Haushofer and his cooperation in propagandizing the idea of the Tripartite Pact.

Haushofer's personal correspondence should be searched for letters to and from Hess, Hitler, Bohle, Frank (Minister of Justice) and other material pertaining to his connection with the organizations mentioned above.

It is also necessary to question:

a) Hess as to his connection with Haushofer, as a liaison officer to Hitler, as to the scope of Haushofer's duties as his plenipotentiary in the D.A.I. (see 1935 speech) and the "Ethnic German Council".

b) Ribbentrop and other officials of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as to whether Haushofer was consulted on matters of foreign policy. Because of the striking similarity in the organizational structure of the Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia and the Japanese Protectorate established in Korea in 1905 (see documents relating to charge number 5), and because Haushofer was an authority on Japan and Korea, it appears necessary to establish the fact whether Haushofer gave his advice as to the establishment of the first protectorate on the continent of Europe.

c) Keitel, von Rundstedt, Jodl, whether or not Haushofer was consulted by the Chief of Staff for military planning.

d) Instructors of "Ordensburgen" and other trainees from the several institutes of training (Schulungslager) in the framework of the Deutsche Akademie, the D.A.I., and the Geopolitical Institute as to the contents and scope of the training received.

e) Representatives of the Secret Police Services of the United Nations should be questioned on the particular warfare and extent of subversive activities carried out by organizations supervised and directed by Haushofer in their countries.

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The following persons should be seized and questioned:

1) Professor Carl Schmitt, a friend of Haushofer, who has instigated in his writings to illegal war and annexation of foreign territories.

2) Professor Konrad Meyer, of the Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumordnung in Berlin.

3) Professor Josef U. Folkers, of Rostock (Professor Folkers was Haushofer's representative for activities in high schools).

4) Professor R. Wagner, Heidelberg, Director of the Geo-political Association of University Professors.

5) Kurt Vowinkel, Heidelberg (co-editor of the Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik).

6) Wolfgang Schwarz, Berlin (Co-editor of the Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik).

RAPHAEL LEMKIN
Consultant

RESTRICTED

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DOCUMENTS RELATING

to

CHARGE No. 1.

Document 1A.

HAUSHOFER, KARL, GEOGRAPHISCHE GRUNDZÜGE AUSWÄRTIGER POLITIK, SÜDDEUTSCHE MONATSHEFTE, VOL. XXIV, 1926-27, pp. 258 ff.

Geopolitics is primarily concerned with providing the tools for a successful foreign policy. In addition, it must strive to gain the support of the people for the efforts of those who are to carry out this policy. Britons and Frenchmen have been greatly superior to us in this respect. They have schooled politically not only their statesmen but also the masses who had to support them in the elections. As early as 1901 and 1904 French and English geopoliticians (Cheradame, Mackinder) pointed out, in publications which should have received our attention, how the leading powers of Central Europe could be smashed.

In German circles no political writings roused the masses. Nor would anyone take the trouble to explain to the German worker that most of his troubles were caused by lack of space. Such moving concepts as that of a "people without space" remained unknown. Instead, the worker's attention was diverted to petty quarrels about materialistic interpretations of history.

Today we must work in this direction more than ever, until knowledge becomes again ability, and ability again will--the uniform will to domestic unity and power as the basis for our rights against the outside world. It was Spinoza, not an imperialist, who said that only he who has power has right!

In foreign politics we need a sounding board, an echo for the responsible leader. An intelligent opposition may be more effective in this respect than his own following, for the latter may push him farther ahead on the road than he might care to go.

If we do not succeed in rousing our people to political understanding, then our foreign policy will remain theory, cannot become reality. We must learn to further our state, not on paper, but on the soil on which it grew-- on the living space of the German people. This is the stage on which we have to play our part, we must know it with all its trapdoors, with all its entrances and exits. Only then, God helping us, shall we be able to build for the third and final time, the new structure of the German state on its natural and cultural soil - the third Reich!

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HAUSHOFER, KARL, POLITISCHE ERDKUNDE UND GEOPOLITIK, IN FREIE WEGE VERGLEICHENDER ERDKUNDE, FESTSCHRIFT (DRYGALSKI), MÜNCHEN UND BERLIN, 1925.

Geopolitik has come to stay. We arrive at this conclusion from the fact that its application is gaining a growing following all over the world, while disregard of its teachings becomes increasingly dangerous. Some political successes can doubtlessly be attributed to geopolitical groundwork, among them the skillful selection of such English bases as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Penang. The reorganization of the Australian Commonwealth and the foundation of its new capital, Canberra, are likewise the result of geographical considerations. Geopolitically, even the choice of Tsingtao was a good one, provided one considers the establishment of a German base in China as geopolitically justifiable.

Geopolitik will serve our statesmen in setting and attaining their political objectives. It will present them with the scientific equipment of concrete facts and proven laws to help them see political situations as they really are. As an exact science, Geopolitik deserves serious consideration. Our leaders must learn to use all available tools to carry on their fight for Germany's existence — a struggle which is becoming increasingly difficult due to the incongruity between her food production and population density.

For our future foreign policy, we therefore need Geopolitik. We need the same thorough training in this discipline as developed by England — though not under that name — with one-sided purposefulness as adopted by France (in the Institut de France and the Ecole de Politique), and as it is beginning to be used by Japan. Geopolitik is a child of geography; whoever takes up its study should therefore be trained geographically. To teach it requires first-hand knowledge; teachers of Geopolitik must know from practical experience not only the country they are teaching about, but also the one in which they are teaching. We must, moreover, study Geopolitik with a view to the present and future rather than to the past. As a nation governed by lawyers, we Germans have been too much under the influence of lex lata. We considered politics more in terms of dead history than of living science; we looked back rather than ahead. In this manner, we lost contact with the future. Making retrospective instead of prophylactic politics, we were left out of the realignment of the world when it occured at the turn of the century. This policy was doomed to failure.

Ducent volentem, nolentem trahunt fata! (only those who are willing are guided by fate; the unwilling ones are dragged!) Nowhere does this maxim of Roman wisdom apply more directly than in the realm of Politics. We learned our lesson. . . . . .

Germany must emerge out of the narrowness of her present living space into the freedom of the world. We must approach

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this task well equipped in knowledge and training. We must familiarize ourselves with the important spaces of settlement and migration on earth. We must study the problem of boundaries as one of the most important problems of Geopolitik. We ought to devote particular attention to national self-determination, population pressure, living space, and changes in rural and urban settlement, and we must closely follow all shifts and transfers of power throughout the world.

The smaller the living space of a nation, the greater the need for a far-sighted policy to keep the little it can still call its own. A people must know what it possesses. At the same time, it should constantly study and compare the living spaces of other nations. Only thus will it be able to recognize and seize any possibility to recover lost ground.

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Document 1 C.

HAUSHOFER, KARL, DAS JAPANISCHE REICH IN SEINER GEOGRAPHISCHEN ENTWICKLUNG, 1921.

Germany would do well to align herself to Japan with all the intellectual and scientific means at her disposal. Since our status as a power in East Asia seems forever lost, and our ability to carry on power politics in the Far East is negligible, we would be wiser to formulate a well-planned cultural policy which can bring us into one front with the oriental powers of the future against all, really all, our oppressors of today. The demand of equal rights for everyone based on the age-old ideals of East Asiatic culture can then be quelled no longer. By throwing off the yoke of Russian and Anglo-Saxon supremacy, this policy will help the much abused slogan of the "open door and equal opportunity for all" to finally come through....

A community of interests exists between Japan and Germany. Despite all obstacles still barring an understanding between us, we must find a way to such rapprochement. As Kjellen pointed out (even before World War I), the danger of a two-front war casts its shadow just as much upon Japan as on Germany. Japan realized this threat. With wise patience, acting as Britain did at the time of her isolation at the turn of the century, she clung to all threads that might preserve her from this peril. Thus she managed to extricate herself cautiously and noiselessly from her precarious position. We, on the other hand, constantly brought our predicament to the attention of the whole world and by untimely rashness unleashed the storm that was our doom.

Japan, of course, found herself in a geographically more fortunate position on her easily defended island. Nevertheless, an unfailing instinct which did not spread itself simultaneously in all directions, but united the nation to unified action, proved of immense value. With just one objective in view, Japan's leaders accomplished the one indispensable prerequisite of any enduring expansion which German statesmen never achieved; they roused the entire nation to the need of further advances and thus were able to guide emigration in the desired direction. Theirs is the only way to forge into sound and conscious action the various instinctive, and often senseless and dangerous, moves and countermoves of individuals as well as an entire nation.

Only such geopolitical realization of imperial growth directs a state to mature, responsible action. Only he who knows when and how to find his happiness can secure it within a framework bounded by the rights of others. States, like individuals, have to respect this principle.

Japan felt and knew this truth while we ignored it. Such knowledge is power. Due to it, the island nations succeeded in their efforts to expand. We did not have this knowledge because, aside from the inability to sense national psychological tensions, we lacked the geographical sense of space, the base of all geopolitical insight. Thus, we never spoke or acted correctly-

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neither in our own part of the world nor in those parts where we were facing alien races.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

This may be a lesson to us who have to gather our strength again out of a small beginning, after immense and tragic waste. At the same time, Japan's rise should inspire us with courage and hope for future justice. There are biological laws which only the scientist can perceive. They overcame the resistance of great and seemingly invincible powers and in the end let still stronger forms of life trample over them.

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HAUSHOFER, KARL, WELTPOLITIK VON HEUTE, 1936, pp.115 ff.

Are there -- as a counterpart to upper limits of space formation -- minimum requirements which a territory should attain before it can claim the right to independent statehood? Are there, in other words, areas which, being too small to be independent, must be part of a larger space destiny?

Much depends on the answer to this question. It determines whether minorities should be preserved or absorbed, whether stagnating remains of a one-time world power should still be allowed to carry on an independent existence, and how large the important states of a federation should be in order to maintain at least a certain degree of autonomy. But the problem of small states reveals itself in its entire significance, if we keep in mind that it is closely tied up with the improvement of our means of communication. Small states were much better able to maintain themselves in previous times when means of communication had not yet compressed a distance of 400 miles into an hour's plane flight. With the extension of gun and plane range, they have become increasing sources of wars and frictions.

In large-spaced regions, even countries of the size of Manchuria and Mongolia or the important states of the Australian Commonwealth are denied the right to independence. In Europe, however, diminutive formations like Andorra, San Marino, Monaco, Liechtenstein, and Luxemburg, and the India minute feudal relics still claim a certain amount of independence. In both cases, loyalty to historical tradition has been chiefly responsible for the survival of these dwarf states. Very different laws thus determine the space needs of political formations in various parts of the world.

Survival of small states is a clear sign of world political stagnation. Absorption, on the other hand, indicates life and development. The far-reaching co-ordination of our German member states within, and the growing adaptation of Austria to the Reich, the various Balkan federation, the unification of Yugoslovia and Turkey, are all symptoms of world-political evolution. So are France's attempts to absorb Andorra and to establish closer ties with Switzerland. The dismemberment of Spain, on the other hand, which gave autonomy to Catalonia and the Basque country, is a clear indication of regression.

Small areas often manage to survive as members of a large space federation, even they are no longer able to live by their own strength. India's principalities as well as the Swiss cantons are cases in point. Under the protection of the Reich even the various German states may be preserved in some form or other. World-politically, however, they exist today as little as do Luxemburg, Panama or the Malay States. These, like the German states, are tied up so closely with other powers by protective alliances, that they no longer have any rights of self-determination.

As for the minimum space needs of independent statehood, estimates have undergone revolutionary changes. Today, in the era of mass flights across thousands of miles, neither Luxemburg nor the Federal Capital Territory of Australia with an area of less than

a thousand square miles, can any longer exist as independent states. A country which may be conceded a reasonable chance to survive ought to be at least the size of Paraguay (175,000 square miles, population 1,000,000).

* *

Space, alone, however, is no criterion of independence. Though endowed with vast territorial reserves in their colonies, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Denmark are just as unable to pursue a policy of their own in the cramped frame of their European territory as are Switzerland, Greece, or the Central American States.

By the same token, Austria and Hungary cannot be preserved as independent states in the mutilated condition in which they now find themselves. Neither a historical tradition, nor a past record of brilliant political, cultural, and economic achievments, on which both countries can look back with justifiable pride, can help them to escape this fate.

Nevertheless, we might well ask, "Although these states have an adequate living space, haven't they earned the right to independent statehood by virtue of their population volume (including racial comrades living on foreign soil) and by outstanding cultural, political, or economic accomplishments?" A positive answer suggests itself in the case of Switzerland and the Vatican State. Both can boast an age-old tradition of such outstanding character that he who would lay hands on them would have to face the wrath of the entire world.

Yet, even such protection is effective only in times of a settled world order. In a world-wide upheaval, it would probably prove just as worthless as many postwar treaties did.

Summing up, then, we may say that small states have a constantly decreasing chance of independent survival.

Ever strive for the whole; and if no whole thou canst make thee,

Join, then, thyself to some whole, as a subservient limb!

This is the best advice we can give to world-political areas which are sinking below the space limits for independent existence.

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Document 1 F.

HAUSHOFER, KARL, JAPAN BAUT SEIN REICH: 1941,
ZEITGESCHICHTE--VERLAG, BERLIN

Selections from pages 316 ff., translated

As the last lines of this book were being printed, its deepest significance was realized by the formation of the defensive Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance at Berlin . . . . . .

Greater Germany, Italy and Japan: each is certainly a great power by itself, but because its strength has been localized, it has not had universal influence, and has been ridiculed as a "Havenot" by the holders of great areas, the "Haves." Yet they possessed world power throughout the Old World, upon all three world seas . . . . Even this is a secondary consideration of the defensive pact, which now protects the most important, indispensable parts of the Old World, as the security zone of 500 kilometers in American territorial waters protects the New World.

Now the Great German Reich is protected North Cape to Bidassoa Bridge, and stretches out its hand toward a friendly Spain . . . . This is a protective area in the broadest sense, a fence around the Old World, the realization of one of the most important defensive concepts of spatial policy. . . . . .

The destiny of a World Power involves flying rapidly over the world. The Power which fully accepts responsibility for world leadership must be capable of making lightning-quick captures in this game of chess — we remember Poland, Norway, Belgium — just as the nations of the Far East must have the endless patience of one who plays a waiting game. But the people are merely required: to back up the clever moves with all the implements of war and peace; with good maps at hand, to try to follow the play as intelligently as possible; and in the spirit of the plan as a whole, to be prepared, like good chessmen, to move and to capture.

. . . . . But it is also obvious that a capital of cultural and political confidence, invested at the proper time and carefully maintained, will finally yield great results in the important field of power and of economy, and that world distances will be bridged by means of the confidence thus developed. To lay the foundation for such confidence, however, requires the cooperation of everyone; and the lowest and plainest persons can cooperate, under the most favorable conditions, in the making of alliances which tear away the outmoded regimes from their hinges, and which will serve as strong gates in building the peace structure which we eagerly desire as the final good for the Old World.

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Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 1940 — No. 10, pp. 455, 456.

Karl Haushofer

The Completion of a Geopolitical Triangle.

On the Occasion of September 27, 1940.

For a whole generation the writer of these words of greeting has pursued — on the basis of experience ripened in the West and Far East, guided by the impressions of distinguished Germans living abroad who are culturally and politically important, and by the convictions of awe-inspiring statesmen of high rank — the geopolitical aim which Greater Germany, Italy, and Japan achieved together on September 27, 1940. For more than half a generation "Geopolitik" (the periodical) has never lost sight of this aim and has unceasingly pointed out the way to achieve it.

Now, since it is achieved, there is a danger that we may rejoice too much, and another danger that wishful thinking may carry us beyond the possibilities of such a worldwide combination. Therefore, let us figure soberly in space, population, and time.

First, the very wording of the treaty proclaims proud, dignified moderation, far from that haughtiness which many persons had considered possible.

Anyone who does not attack this triangle drawn around the Old World, who does not interfere with its new developing order, who does not without authority meddle with continental Europe and East Asia, has nothing to fear from this new order. Goethe's ripe wisdom is the motto of the new order - which has the strength to enforce it:

What thou dost not possess,
Turn from it coldly;
What would thy peace distress,
Shatter it boldly.

In respect to the Soviet Union, the Triparte Powers want to honor old agreements and to make new ones. To friends they open wide their Union. They have often assured the world that they have not sought a conflict with the British Empire; likewise, it does not occur to them to interfere with America's order. They have often declared that they will accept peace with honor and equality of rights; quite recently, in fact, the Emperor of Japan in his greeting to the Fuehrer declared that this is the object of his desires. But the British Empire, growing old and arbitrary, does not concede this equality of rights to the rejuvenated Powers, and has therefore compelled them to unite. It is the essence of equality of rights, that the pirate's pistol, which is held out from stolen islands to make a blockade, shall disappear from the common life of nations; that artificial dismemberment into narrow spaces, and the mutilation of their trade, shall not be forced upon them; that scraps of land which arouse envy, corridors, and the necessity for barriers in the East and the West, may vanish; that a truly free ocean may flow without obstructions; all this is for the common good of mankind.

This is now guaranteed by three great Powers which encircle the Old World, and which are no longer merely of local importance, but — thanks to their union — now border upon all three large oceans, and have a total military strength that may be estimated at twenty million trained men, two million tons of naval shipping, and thirty-five thousand planes, all experienced in war and accustomed to dealing with wide spaces.

Even without the occupied territories, the Government General and the Protectorate, the Greater German Reich is established upon 682,000 square kilometers of land, with 80,000,000 inhabitants -- and with the Protectorate and the Government General, it has a manpower of 107,000,000 to 109,000,000 persons. The Italian Empire has about 3,940,000 square kilometers of land, and 54,000,000 to 55,000,000 inhabitants. Japan's Empire possesses 680,000 square kilometers of land, with 103,000,000 to 104,000,000 inhabitants; it is also closely connected with the Empire of Manchukuo (1,300,000 square kilometers and about 40,000,000 inhabitants), and with Inner Mongolia (the extent of which is still uncertain; 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 inhabitants). With the parts of China which have already been incorporated into the New Order in Eastern Asia (about 1,000,000 square kilometers and 100,000,000 inhabitants), there is a block of space consisting of more than 3,000,000 square kilometers, and filled with purposefully led, self-sufficient manpower.

Considering those who are of pure stock and who eagerly desire military preparedness, about 200 million men are ready to use their entire united energy for the final success of the tripartite union; while another 108 million are at its disposal as labor forces. No world empire hitherto has reached these figures of real and complete preparedness, least of all the one which includes among its half-billions an oppressed empire of more than 370 million, India, which is now striving to escape from its compulsory guardianship.

Moreover, these Tripartite Powers, overcrowded in their main countries, now have open to themselves coastal waters which are closed to their enemies and which guarantee "space political" freedom of movement beyond the narrow spaces of the land: the zones of the Baltic Sea, the Adriatic Sea, the Japan Sea, and the Inner Japanese Defense Zone. To the German littoral of about 1400 kilometers is added the Atlantic front in Europe from the North Cape to the Bay of Biscay (with the counter blockade of Great Britain); to the 8000 kilometers of the Italian peninsula are added long stretches in the Mediterranean, a steel curtain from the Maritime Alps to the Sahara, and coastal power on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; to the littoral of the Japanese Empire of more than 52,000 kilometers, is added control of the Pacific by the most important island empire in the world.

Thus in the completion of a comprehensive Eurasian policy for the protection of the Old World, continental and oceanic units bring to the common structure, to a far-reaching many-sided well-articulated building, their labor and their mastery in creating, leading and holding it together in world-encompassing efficacy.

He who dares to approach such problems must be able to think in continents and oceans, to survey defensive structures of several thousands of kilometers.

But it is to this end that geopolitics is experienced, felt, learned, studied and taught. Here is a test case of a geopolitical first class achievement from beginning to end. It will stand the test when the account is settled.

Quod erat demonstrandum! What was to be proved! and is to be proved.

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Document 3.

Passages in Mein Kampf which show the Influence of Haushofer's Teachings

For Germany, consequently, the only possibility for carrying out a healthy territorial policy lay in the acquisition of new land in Europe itself. Colonies cannot serve this purpose unless they seem in large part suited for settlement by Europeans. But in the nineteenth century such colonial territories were no longer obtainable by peaceful means. Consequently, such a colonial policy could only have been carried out by means of a hard struggle which, however, would have been carried on to much better purpose, not for territories outside of Europe, but for land on the home continent itself.

Such a decision, it is true, demands undivided devotion. It is not permissible to approach with half measures or even with hesitation a task whose execution seems possible only by the harnessing of the very last possible ounce of energy. This means that the entire political leadership of the Reich should have devoted itself to this exclusive aim; never should any step have been taken, guided by other considerations than the recognition of this task and its requirements. It was indispensable to see clearly that this aim could be achieved only by struggle, and consequently to face the contest of arms with calm and composure.

All alliances, therefore, should have been viewed exclusively from this standpoint and judged according to their possible utilization. If land was desired in Europe, it could be obtained by and large only at the expense of Russia, and this meant that the new Reich must again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic Knights of old, to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow and daily bread for the nation.

(pp. 139-140)

The geo-political significance of a focal center in a movement cannot be overemphasized. Only the presence of such a place, exerting the magic spell of a Mecca or a Rome, can in the long run give the movement a force which is based on inner unity and the recognition of a summit representing this unity.

(p. 347)

The way to do this (produce a highly bred racial stock) is not to leave the settlement of newly acquired territories to chance, but to subject it to special norms. Specially constituted racial commissions must issue settlement certificates to individuals. For this, however, definite racial purity must be established. It will thus gradually become possible to found border colonies whose inhabitants are exclusively bearers of the highest racial purity and hence of the highest racial efficiency. This will make them a precious national treasure to the entire nation; their growth must fill every single national comrade with pride and confidence, for in them lies the germ for a final, great future development of our own people, nay -- of humanity.

(p. 405)

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From the purely territorial point of view, the area of the German Reich vanishes completely as compared with that of the so-called world powers. Let no one cite England as a proof to the contrary, for England in reality is merely the great capital of the British world empire which calls nearly a quarter of the earth's surface its own. In addition, we must regard as giant states, first of all the American Union, then Russia and China. All are spatial formations having in part an area more than ten times greater than the present German Reich. And even France must be counted among these states. Not only that she complements her army to an ever-increasing degree from her enormous empire's reservoir of colored humanity, but racially as well, she is making such great progress in negrification that we can actually speak of an African state arising on European soil. The colonial policy of present-day France cannot be compared with that of Germany in the past. If the development of France in the present style were to be continued for three hundred years, the last remnants of Frankish blood would be submerged in the developing European-African mulatto state. An immense self-contained area of settlement from the Rhine to the Congo, filled with a lower race gradually produced from continuous bastardization.

This distinguishes French colonial policy from the old German one.

The former German colonial policy, like everything we did, was carried out by halves. It neither increased the settlement area of the German Reich, nor did it undertake any attempt — criminal though it would have been — to strengthen the Reich by the use of black blood. The Askaris in German East Africa were a short, hesitant step in this direction. Actually, they served only for the defense of the colonies themselves. The idea of bringing black troops into a European battlefield, quite aside from its practical impossibility in the World War, never existed even as a design to be realized under more favorable circumstances, while, on the contrary, it was always regarded and felt by the French as the basic reason for their colonial activity.

Thus, in the world today we see a number of power states, some of which not only far surpass the strength of our German nation in population, but whose area above all is the chief support of their political power. Never has the relation of the German Reich to other existing world states been as unfavorable as at the beginning of our history two thousand years ago and again today. Then we were a young people, rushing headlong into a world of great crumbling state formations, whose last giant, Rome, we ourselves helped to fell. Today we find ourselves in a world of great power states in process of formation, with our own Reich sinking more and more into insignificance.

We must bear this bitter truth coolly and soberly in mind. We must follow and compare the German Reich through the centuries in its relation to other states with regard to population and area. I know that everyone will then come to the dismayed conclusion which I have stated at the beginning of this discussion: Germany is no longer a world power, regardless whether she is strong or weak from the military point of view.

We have lost all proportion to the other great states of the earth, and this thanks only to the positively catastrophic leadership of our nation in the field of foreign affairs, thanks to our total failure to be guided by what I should almost call a testamentary aim in foreign policy, and thanks to the loss of any healthy instinct and impulse of self-preservation.

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Document 3.

What must guide us today is again and again the basic insight that the reconquest of a Reich's lost territories is primarily the question of regaining the political independence and power of the motherland.

To make this possible and sure by an astute alliance policy is the first task of a powerful German leadership in the field of foreign affairs.

(pp. 629-630)

The foreign policy of the folkish state must safeguard the existence on this planet of the race embodied in the state, by creating a healthy, viable natural relation between the nation's population and growth on the one hand and the quantity and quality of its soil on the other hand.

As a healthy relation we may regard only that condition which assures the sustenance of a people on its own soil. Every other condition, even if it endures for hundreds, nay, thousands of years, is nevertheless unhealthy and will sooner or later lead to the injury if not annihilation of the people in question.

Only an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence.

Moreover, the necessary size of the territory to be settled cannot be judged exclusively on the basis of present requirements, not even in fact on the basis of the yield of the soil compared to the population. For, as I explained in the first volume, Under German Alliance Policy Before the War, in addition to its importance as a direct source of a people's food, another significance, that is, a military and political one, must be attributed to the area of a state. If a nation's sustenance as such is assured by the amount of its soil, the safeguarding of the existing soil itself must also be borne in mind. This lies in the general power-political strength of the state, which in turn to no small extent is determined by geo-military considerations.

Hence, the German nation can defend its future only as a world power. For more than two thousand years the defense of our people's interests, as we should designate our more or less fortunate activity in the field of foreign affairs, was world history. We ourselves were witnesses to this fact: for the gigantic struggle of the nations in the years 1914-1918 was only the struggle of the German people for its existence on the globe, but designated the type of event itself as a World War.

The German people entered this struggle as a supposed world power. I say here 'supposed', for in reality it was none. If the German nation in 1914 had had a different relation between area and population, Germany would really have been a world power, and the War, aside from all other factors, could have been terminated favorably.

Germany today is no world power. Even if our momentary military impotence were overcome, we should no longer have any claim to this title. What can a formation, as miserable in its relation of population to area as the German Reich today, mean on this planet? In an era when the earth is gradually being divided up among states, some of which embrace almost entire continents, we cannot speak of a world power in connection with a formation whose political mother country is limited to the absurd area of five hundred thousand square kilometers.

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Document 3.

If the National Socialist movement really wants to be consecrated by history with a great mission for our nation, it must be permeated by knowledge and filled with pain at our true situation in this world; boldly and conscious of its goal, it must take up the struggle against the aimlessness and incompetence which have hitherto guided our German nation in the line of foreign affairs. Then, without consideration of 'traditions' and prejudices, it must find the courage to gather our people and their strength for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present restricted living space to new land and soil, and hence also free it from the danger of vanishing from the earth or of serving others as a slave nation.

The National Socialist movement must strive to eliminate the disproportion between our population and our area - viewing this latter as a source of food as well as a basis for power politics - between our historical past and the hopelessness of our present impotence.

(pp. 642 - 646)

I still wish briefly to take a position on the question as to what extent the demand for soil and territory seems ethically and morally justified. This is necessary, since unfortunately, even in so-called folkish circles, all sorts of unctuous big-mouths step forward, endeavoring to set the rectification of the injustice of 1918 as the aim of the German nation's endeavors in the field of foreign affairs, but at the same time find it necessary to assure the whole world of folkish brotherhood and sympathy.

I should like to make the following preliminary remarks: The demand for restoration of the frontiers of 1914 is a political absurdity of such proportions and consequences as to make it seem a crime. Quite aside from the fact that the Reich's frontiers in 1914 were anything but logical. For in reality they were neither complete in the sense of embracing the people of German nationality, nor sensible with regard to geo-military expediency. They were not the result of a considered political action, but momentary frontiers in a political struggle that was by no means concluded; partly, in fact, they were the results of chance.

(p. 649)

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The boundaries of the year 1914 mean nothing at all for the German future. Neither did they provide a defense of the past, nor would they contain any strength for the future. Through them the German nation will neither achieve its inner integrity, nor will its sustenance be safeguarded by them, nor do these boundaries, viewed from the military standpoint, seem expedient or even satisfactory, nor finally can they improve the relation in which we at present find ourselves toward the other world powers, or, better expressed, the real world powers. The lag behind England will not be caught up, the magnitude of the Union will not be achieved; not even France would experience a material diminution of her world-political importance.

Only one thing would be certain: even with a favorable outcome, such an attempt to restore the borders of 1914 would lead to a further bleeding of our national body, so much so that there would be no worth-while blood

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left to stake for the decisions and actions really to secure the nation's future. On the contrary, drunk with such a shallow success, we should renounce any further goals, all the more readily as 'national honor' would be repaired and, for the moment at least, a few doors would have been reopened to commercial development.

As opposed to this, we National Socialists must hold unflinchingly to our aim in foreign policy, namely, to secure for the German people the land and soil to which they are entitled on this earth. And this action is the only one which, before God and our German posterity, would make any sacrifice of blood seem justified: before God, since we have been put on this earth with the mission of eternal struggle for our daily bread, beings who receive nothing as a gift, and who owe their position as lords of the earth only to the genius and the courage with which they can conquer and defend it; and before our German posterity insofar as we have shed no citizen's blood out of which a thousand others are not bequeathed to posterity. The soil on which some day German generations of peasants can beget powerful sons will sanction the investment of the sons of today, and will some day acquit the responsible statesmen of blood-guilt and sacrifice of the people, even if they are persecuted by their contemporaries.

And I must sharply attack those folkish pen-pushers who claim to regard such an acquisition of soil as a 'breach of sacred human rights' and attack it as such in their scribblings. One never knows who stands behind these fellows. But one thing is certain, that the confusion they can create is desirable and convenient to our national enemies. By such an attitude they help to weaken and destroy from within our people's will for the only correct way of defending their vital needs. For no people on this earth possesses so much as a square yard of territory on the strength of a higher will or superior right. Just as Germany's frontiers are fortuitous frontiers, momentary frontiers in the current political struggle of any period, so are the boundaries of other nations' living space. And just as the shape of our earth's surface can seem immutable as granite only to the thoughtless soft-head, but in reality only represents at each period an apparent pause in a continuous development, created by the mighty forces of Nature in a process of continuous growth, only to be transformed or destroyed tomorrow by greater forces, likewise the boundaries of living spaces in the life of nations.

State boundaries are made by man and changed by man.

The fact that a nation has succeeded in acquiring an undue amount of soil constitutes no higher obligation that it should be recognized eternally. At most it proves the strength of the conquerors and the weakness of the nations. And in this case, right lies in strength alone. If the German nation today, penned into an impossible area, faces a lamentable future, this is no more a commandment of Fate than revolt against this state of affairs constitutes an affront to Fate. No more than any higher power has promised another nation more territory than the German nation, or is offended by the fact of this unjust distribution of the soil. Just as our ancestors did not receive the soil on which we live today as a gift from Heaven, but had to fight for it at the risk of their lives, in the future no folkish grace will win soil for us and hence life for our people, but only the might of a victorious sword.

(651 to 653)

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Document 3.

But we National Socialists must go further. The right to possess soil can become a duty if without extension of its soil a great nation seems doomed to destruction. And most especially when not some little nigger nation or other is involved, but the Germanic mother of life, which has given the present-day world its cultural picture. Germany will either be a world power or there will be no Germany. And for world power she needs that magnitude which will give her the position she needs in the present period, and life to her citizens.

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And so we National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign policy tendency of our pre-War period. We take up where we broke off six hundred years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the east. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future.

If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia and her vassal border states.

(p. 654)

The political testament of the German nation to govern its outward activity for all time should and must be:

Never suffer the rise of two continental powers in Europe. Regard any attempt to organize a second military power on the German frontiers, even if only in the form of creating a state capable of military strength, as an attack on Germany, and in it see not only the right, but also the duty, to employ all means up to armed force to prevent the rise of such a state, or, if one has already arisen, to smash it again. — See to it that the strength of our nation is founded, not on colonies, but on the soil of our European homeland. Never regard the Reich as secure unless for centuries to come it can give every scion of our people his own parcel of soil. Never forget that the most sacred right on this earth is a man's right to have earth to till with his own hands, and the most sacred sacrifice the blood that a man sheds for this earth.

(p. 664)

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Document 2.

Parallel statements by Haushofer and Hitler indicative of identical views, concepts and doctrines.

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Document ..

List of Books from which Parallel Quotations are Taken

Adolf Hitler	Mein Kampf, 1924 (reprint, 1945)
Karl Haushofer	Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt, 1933
Karl Haushofer	Politische Erdkunde und Geopolitik, in Freie Wege vergleichender Erdkunde, Festschrift (Drygalski), 1925
Karl Haushofer	Japan baut sein Reich, 1941
Karl Haushofer	Weltpolitik von heute, 1936
Karl Haushofer	Geographische Grundzüge auswärtiger Politik, Suddeutsche Monatshefte, Vol. XXIV, 1926-27.
Karl Haushofer	Das japanische Reich in seiner Geographischen Entwicklung, 1921.
Gordon W. Prange (ed.)	Hitler's Words, 1944
Norman H. Baynes (ed.)	Speeches of Adolf Hitler, 2 volumes, 1942.

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Document 4.

Berlin - Rome - Tokyo

Haushofer

As the last lines of this book were being printed, its deepest significance was realized by the formation of the defensive Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance at Berlin . . . . .

Japan baut sein Reich: 1941
Zeitgeschichte-Verlag,
(p. 316 ff.)

Germany would do well to align herself to Japan with all the intellectual and scientific means at her disposal.

* * * * * * * * * * *

A community of interests exists between Japan and Germany. Despite all obstacles still barring an understanding between us, we must find a way to such rapprochement.

Das japanische Reich in seiner Geographischen Entwicklung, 1921.
(pp. 36-38)

Hitler

But above all stands our co-operation with those two great Powers who have recognized a world danger in Bolshevism, just as Germany has, and are determined to unite their strength in common defence against the Comintern movement.

That this work of co-operation with Italy and Japan may ever become closer is my sincere desire. In addition, we are happy for every relief of tension that can be effected in the general political situation. For however great may be the achievement of our people we are not in doubt that general prosperity would be increased if a closer international co-operation could be secured."

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(pp. 1408-9)

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Document ..

Selected Leadership

Haushofer

Therefore we see - under geopolitical aspects - the preserving principle in the national, almost racially uniform embodiment of the National Socialist idea, combined with emphasis upon the principle of the leadership of the best from the standpoint of racial hygiene, selected and constantly rechecked according to a principle of true aristocracy, not based upon birth or wealth.

Der nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 14)

Hitler

It is now the task of the National Socialist Movement to build up organically a political leadership parallel with the leadership in cultural and economic life.

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Our task is to build up in Germany a hierarchy of political leadership which can be fitted into the fundamental laws of the nation's life. If we give the leadership to those who have a natural right to lead, then we shall fulfil a law alike of the highest reason and of the highest justice.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I
(p. 482)

When a Movement has won a State for these principles, when it is determined to retain power through the laws of such leadership, then this State can never be overthrown. As is the leadership, so is the people and so is its destiny.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I
(p. 482,p. 483)

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Document 2

The Historical Argument

Haushofer

. . . ."the right of self-determination for supporters of the National Socialist concepts, with their right to a sufficient breathing space and to all of the land which was first highly developed by their race."

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 29)

Hitler

I have worked only to restore that which others once broke by force, I have desired only to make good that which Satanic malice or human unreason destroyed or demolished. I have therefore taken no step which violated the rights of others, but have only restored that justice which was violated twenty years ago. The present Greater German Reich contains no territory which was not from the earliest times a part of this Reich, not bound up with it or subject to its sovereignty. Long before an American Continent had been discovered - to say nothing of settled - by white people, this Reich existed, not merely in its present extent, but with the addition of many regions and provinces which have since been lost.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II - (p. 1606)
Speech before the Reichstag,
April 28, 1939.

The German Reich, however, like every other State, possesses certain definite interests which it is impossible to renounce. These do not extend beyond the limits of the necessities laid down by former German history and deriving from vital economic pre-requisites. Some of these questions h ld and still hold a significance both of a national-political and a psychological character which no German Government is able to ignore.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II - (p. 1632)
From Hitler's letter to Chamberlain,
August 23, 1939

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Document 4

Foreign Policy and Lebensraum
(Living Space)

Haushofer

If we do not succeed in rousing our people to political understanding, then our foreign policy will remain theory, cannot become reality. We must learn to further our state, not on paper, but on the soil on which it grew -- on the living space of the German people. This is the stage on which we have to play our part, we must know it with all its trapdoors, with all its entrances and exits. Only then, God helping us, shall we be able to build for the third and final time, the new structure of the German state on its natural and cultural soil - the third Reich!

Geographische Grundzüge auswärtiger Politik, Süddeutsche Monatshefte, Vol. XXIV, 1926-27, pp. 258 ff.

Dorpalen, pp. 43, 44.

Hitler

I should like the German nation to recognize those historical realities in other peoples which fancy would like to banish by wishful thinking, but which, as a matter of fact, cannot be obliterated. I should like the German people to see that it is unreasonable to oppose these historical realities and to impose upon other nations conditions contrary to the proper requirements of their spiritual existence and also contrary to their reasonable and vital claims . . . . .

How much sorrow would have been spared humanity and especially the peoples of Europe, if the natural and self-evident necessities of life had been respected and taken into account in the political readjustment of European living space. It would have been well, too, if economic cooperation had been given consideration.

Voelkischer Beobachter,
March 8, 1936
Hitler's words (pp. 166-67)

But high above all the freedom of the individual there is the freedom of our people, the freedom of our Reich: and the security of the German Lebensraum is for us the supreme law. That we love peace I do not need to stress.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1660)

4-1

Document 2

Germany's Economic Relations with Eastern Europe

Haushofer

The prospect of an assured supplement of food is offered to Central Europe, from an economic viewpoint, only by the East; and conversely, only Central Europe (by means of careful adjustment of import and export) could supply the masses of consumers indispensable to Eastern (intermediate) Europe. For the remaining stump of a Europe thus supplemented by transoceanic or transcontinental means (such as the Soviets), there is a geopolitical anomaly in the senseless encroachments upon world economy and the hostility with respect to cultural policy, of Eastern Europe against National Socialist Germany; an anomaly that is most grotesque when Austria participates in these demonstrations.

If ever the masses of producers and consumers between West Europe and the Soviet Union are to find their way back to an integral part of world economy worth mentioning, they have no alternative but a partial coalition. . . . . .

Der nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 40)

Hitler

But this solution, I am convinced, will only prove advantageious to the relations between Germany and Lithuania, seeing that Germany, as our behavior has proved, has no other interest than to live in peace and friendship with this State and to establish and foster economic relations with it. In this connection I wish to make one point perfectly clear: The significance of economic agreements with Germany lies not only in the fact that Germany is able as exporter to meet almost all industrial requirements, but that she, being a very large consumer, is at the same time also a purchaser of numerous products which alone enable other countries to participate in international trade at all. We are interested not only in retaining these economic markets, but especially in promoting good relations with them, because the existence of our people is based to a large extent thereon.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1627)

For if Germany supplies an agrarian country today with machinery and receives foodstuffs in payment, the Reich, as consumer of foodstuffs, is at least as dependent, if not more dependent, on the agrarian country as the latter is dependent on us, from whom it receives industrial products in payment. Germany regards the Baltic States as one of its most important trade partners. And for this reason it is in our interest that these countries should lead an independent, ordered national life of their own. This is in our opinion the necessary condition for that internal economic development which is again the condition upon which the exchange of goods depends.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1628)

62.

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Document 4.

Youth

Haushofer

A great stimulus to the . . . . . National Socialist movement . . . . in the case of Germany. . . . was the complete cutting-off of enthusiastic youth from activity in great spaces - youth which had the consciousness of its space-conquering worth.

Der nationalsocialistische Gedanke in der Welt (p. 9)

Hitler

There are nations about us who do not want us to be united. They do not want to grant us those rights which without question are given to all peoples. We, and other young peoples, have to regain with great effort the rights necessary for our existence, the rights which our forbears gave up at one time, and for which we may some day have to fight. And that is where, German Youth, I rely on you most of all.

Voelkischer Beobachter, May 2, 1939.

Hitler's Words (p. 134)

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Document 4.

Have Small States a Right to Exist?

Haushofer

Survival of small states is a clear sign of world political stagnation. Absorption, on the other hand, indicates life and development. The far-reaching co-ordination of our German member states within, and the growing adaptation of Austria to the Reich, the various Balkan federations, the unification of Yugoslavia and Turkey, are all symptoms of world-political evolution. So are France's attempts to absorb Andorra and to establish closer ties with Switzerland. The disappearment of Spain, on the other hand, which gave autonomy to Catalonia and the Basque country, is a clear indication of regression.

Weltpolitik von heute, 1936,
pp. 115 ff.
Dorpalen, pp. 207 ff.

Hitler

I have already explained in my speech on 20 February that it is hardly possible to obtain a completely satisfactory regulation of the relations between peoples and territories in Europe: that is to say that it is not our view that it should be the aim of a national Government to realize on every side, whether through protests or through interventions, territorial claims which, though supported by the argument of national necessities, could yet in the end lead to no general national justice. The countless enclaves of peoples which are to be found in Europe make it in part simply impossible to find a frontier delimitation which will everywhere do equal justice to the interests alike of peoples and of States.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(pp. 1428, 1429

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Document ..

Self-Determination for an Enlarged Germany

Haushofer

Is there any possibility of uniting the strong and clear idea of the right of self-determination for supporters of the National Socialist concepts, with their right to a sufficient breathing space and to all of the land which was first highly developed by their race, and of equalizing matters to such an extent that the majesty of the violated right of self-determination will defend the people and home as well as the disputed boundaries of the total state, held together by race and nationality, with National Socialistic culture, power, and economy?

Der nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in der Welt, 1933.
(p. 29)

Hitler

Not only was the German Reich destroyed and Austria split up into its component parts by the criminals of Versailles, but Germans were also forbidden to acknowledge that community which they had confessed for more than a thousand years.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1609)

I should have sinned against my call by Providence had I failed by my own endeavour to lead my native country and my German people of the Ostmark back to the Reich and thus to the community of the German people.

In doing so, moreover, I have wiped out the most disgraceful side of the Treaty of Versailles. I have once more established the right of self-determination, and done away with the democratic oppression of seven and a half million Germans.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1609, p. 1610)

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Document 4.

The Haves and the Havenots

Haushofer

Greater Germany, Italy and Japan: each is certainly a great power by itself, but because its strength has been localized, it has not had universal influence, and has been ridiculed as a "Havenot" by the holders of great areas, the "Haves". Yet they possessed world power throughout the Old World, upon all three world seas . . . . Even this is a secondary consideration of the defensive pact, which now protects the most important, indispensable parts of the Old World, as the security zone of 500 kilometers in American territorial waters protects the New World.

Japan baut sein Reich: 1941
Zeitgeschichte--Verlag
(p. 316 ff.)

Hitler

But to assume that God has permitted some nations first to acquire a world by force and then to defend this robbery with moralizing theories is perhaps comforting and, above all, comfortable for the "haves," but for the "have-nots" it is just as unimportant as it is uninteresting and lays no obligation upon them. Nor is the problem solved by the fact that a most important statesman simply declares with a scornful grin that there are nations which are "haves" and that the others on that account must now and forever be "have-nots."

These wearisome views may perhaps prevail as principles for the solution of social questions inside the capitalistic democracies, but the states which are really ruled by their peoples reject such theories in their domestic policy as well as in their foreign policy. No nation is born to be a "have-not," and no nation is born to be a "have."

Voelkischer Beobachter,
Jan. 31, 1939
"Hitler's Words" (p. 323)

The unreasonable division of the world into nations that have and nations that have not will not remove or solve that problem, anymore than the internal social problems of the nations can be simply solved through more or less clever phrases.

Hitler's Speeches
Vol. II
(p. 1342)

H3258 - 0058

Document 4

Geopolitics and the Proportion between Food and Population

Haushofer

Geopolitik will serve our statesmen in setting and attaining their political objectives. It will present them with the scientific equipment of concrete facts and proven laws to help them see political situations as they really are. As an exact science, Geopolitik deserves serious consideration. Our leaders must learn to use all available tools to carry on their fight for Germany's existence -- a struggle which is becoming increasingly difficult due to the incongruity between her food production and population density.

Politische Erdkunde und Geopolitik, in Freie Wege vergleichende Erdkunde, Festschrift (Drygalski), Munich and Berlin, 1925.

Norpalen, pp. 27, 28.

Hitler

If under foreign policy we must understand the regulation of a nation's relations with the rest of the world, the manner of this regulation will be determined by certain definite facts. As National Socialists we can, furthermore, establish the following principle concerning the nature of the foreign policy of a folkish state:

> The foreign policy of the folkish state must safeguard the existence on this planet of the race embodied in the state, by creating a healthy, viable natural relation between the nation's population and growth on the one hand and the quantity and quality of its soil on the other hand.

As a healthy relation we may regard only that condition which assures the sustenance of a people on its own soil. Every other condition, even if it endures for hundreds, nay thousands of years, is nevertheless unhealthy and will sooner or later lead to the injury if not annihilation of the people in question.

> Only an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence.

Mein Kampf (642-3)

The National Socialist movement must strive to eliminate the disproportion between our population and our area -- viewing this latter as a source of food as well as a basis for power politics -- between our historical past and the hopelessness of our present impotence.

Mein Kampf (p. 646)

Document 4

Russia Must Not Intervene

Haushofer

The more distinctly the internal structure of the negotiating powers turned toward a strong nationalism, the more easily the Soviets could be induced to sacrifice. . . . . their agitation and propaganda.

Der Nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in Der Welt
(p. 5)

Hitler

Your declaration that you desire to direct your efforts toward the creation and maintenance of normal relations between Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics I have heard with satisfaction. I share your view that such a relation between the German Reich and the Soviet Union will correspond with the necessity, greater today than ever it was, for non-intervention in the affairs of another State and will thus correspond also with the interests of both countries and so contribute to the cause of general peace.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume II
(p. 1355)

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Document ..

No Internationalism

Haushofer

Each (National Socialist Empire) has to find itself through its own strength. This results from the nature of National Socialism as opposed to the Internationale. Each empire met at first unfriendly misunderstanding, which was increased by the aversion of international alliances. .

Der Nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 5)

Hitler

Young Communists when they had murdered National Socialists fled for refuge to Russia: but they returned to Germany: better penal servitude in Germany than freedom there." . . . . .

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I
(p. 258)

In the German soil, in the German peasant, and in the German working-man we see the roots of our strength and thus of our life—not in the phantom of Internationalism. In the education to resistance we see the condition for the assertion of our life, and in ourselves and through ourselves we wish to make this resistance a reality.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I
(p. 259)

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H3258 - 0061

Document 4.

The Party Program

Haushofer

Therefore it was justified and prudent, that the supporters of the National Socialist idea in Germany, in defiance of their opponents, refused for so long to come forward with a binding program, while the National Socialist idea as a world-wide movement stood out clearly with its basic postulates, particularly its re-union with eternal reality. At least we were clear upon this point, when in March 1924, we wrote in "Geopolitics" on the subject of geopolitical influences upon the endeavors to make National Socialism and social aristocracy a living reality.

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 47)

Hitler

And so, if, in order to carry a philosophy to victory, we must transform it into a fighting movement, logically the program of the movement must take into consideration the human material that stands at its disposal. As immutable as the ultimate aims and the leading ideas must be, with equal wisdom and psychological soundness the recruiting program must be adapted to the minds of those without whose aid the most beautiful idea would remain eternally an idea.

If the folkish idea wants to arrive at a clear success from the unclear will of today, it must pick out from the broad world of its ideas certain guiding principles, suited in their essence and content to binding a broad mass of men, that mass which alone guarantees the struggle for this idea as laid down in our philosophy.

Mein Kampf
(p. 457-458

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Document [illegible].

Blood and Soil

Haushofer

Its nature (a Fascist or National Socialist regime). . . . is formed to a great extent by the combined effects of blood and soil, within a specific system which has its own characteristic geographical setting and population.

Der Nationalsozialistische Gedanke in Der Welt (p. 4)

Hitler

The realization of the fundamental conception of a national policy which finds its expression in the doctrine of 'Blood and Soil" - a conception which has been reawakened by National Socialism - will mean the most profound revolutionary transformation that there has ever been. Our fundamental demand for the strengthening of the racial bases of our people's life which is represented by these words and which at the same time includes every possible safeguarding of our existence as a people, determines also the aims of National Socialism alike in its domestic and foreign policy.

Speech delivered at the fifth Tagung des agrarpolitischen Apparates der Reichsleitung der NSDAP. V.B., 3 Jan. 1933

(Hitler's Speeches - Baynes Volume II - p. 992)

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Document 4.

Geopolitics and Capitals

Haushofer

Geopolitik has come to stay. We arrive at this conclusion from the fact that its application is gaining a growing following all over the world, while disregard of its teachings becomes increasingly dangerous. Some political successes can doubtlessly be attributed to geopolitical groundwork, among them the skillful selection of such English bases as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Penang. The reorganization of the Australian Commonwealth and the foundation of its new capital, Canberra, are likewise the result of geographical considerations. Geopolitically, even the choice of Tsingtao was a good one, provided one considers the establishment of a German base in China as geopolitically justifiable.

Politische Erdkunde und Geopolitik, in Freie Wege vergleichende Erdkunde, Festschrift (Drygalski), Munich and Berlin, 1925.

Dorpalen, pp. 27, 28.

Hitler

The geo-political significance of a focal center in a movement cannot be overemphasized. Only the presence of such a place, exerting the magic spell of a Mecca or a Rome, can in the long run give the movement of a force which is based on inner unity and the recognition of a summit representing this unity.

Mein Kampf
(p. 347)

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Document 4.

Large Spaces and Freedom

Haushofer

Hence we can see freedom and security only in mergers of large areas. But these, as is beginning to be seen more clearly in France and Central Europe, are possible only if one grants National Socialism its right to its existence. Such a deeply-rooted, true-bred phenomenon, attached to German culture and power, can no longer be turned back by considerations of world policy and economic tradition. One has to go forward hand in hand with it even in matters of world economy - or it will advance alone, accompanied only by its own convictions.

Der nationalsozialistische
Gedanke in der Welt
(p. 40)

Hitler

Only an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence.

Moreover, the necessary size of the territory to be settled cannot be judged exclusively on the basis of present requirements, not even in fact on the basis of the yield of the soil compared to the population. For, as I explained in the first volume, under 'German Alliance Policy Before the War,' in addition to its importance as a direct source of a people's food, another significance, that is, a military and political one, must be attributed to the area of a state. If a nation's sustenance as such is assured by the amount of its soil, the safeguarding of the existing soil itself must also be borne in mind. This lies in the general power-political strength of the state, which in turn to no small extent is determined by geomilitary considerations.

Mein Kampf
(p. 643)

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Document 2.

Action is More Important than Intellect

Haushofer

In this case, too, the main point is: "Action means everything -- fame nothing." Therefore, as with the Nationalist renewal of Italy through Mussolini, so also with the German rejuvenation through Hitler, ideology follows the paths of action, and wherever this does not occur, too much ideology may easily kill the energy for action.

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt, (1933. p. 47)

Hitler

I know the masses of my people, and there is only one thing which I should always wish to say to our intellectuals: every Reich that is founded only on the classes which represent intellect and intelligence has weak foundations. I know this intellect: always so subtle, always inquiring, but also always uncertain, always hesitating vacillating from side to side -- never steadfast! He who would construct a Reich on these intellectual classes alone will find his building insecure.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I (p. 863)

I know that the intellectual classes fall all too easily a victim to that arrogance which measures the people according to the standards of its knowledge and of its so-called intelligence: and yet there are things in the people which very often the intelligence of the 'intelligent' does not see because it cannot see them. The masses are certainly backward, they are not so nimble, so witty, or intellectual (geistig): but they have something to their credit: they have loyalty, constancy, stability.

I can truly say: the victory of the Revolution would never have come if my companions, the mass of our small fellow-countrymen, had not stood behind us in unexampled loyalty and with a constancy that nothing could shake. I can think of nothing better for Germany than that we should succeed in bringing into the new State these men who still stand outside the ranks of our fighters and in forming out of them a sure foundation for the new State.

Hitler's Speeches
Baynes Volume I
(p. 863-864)

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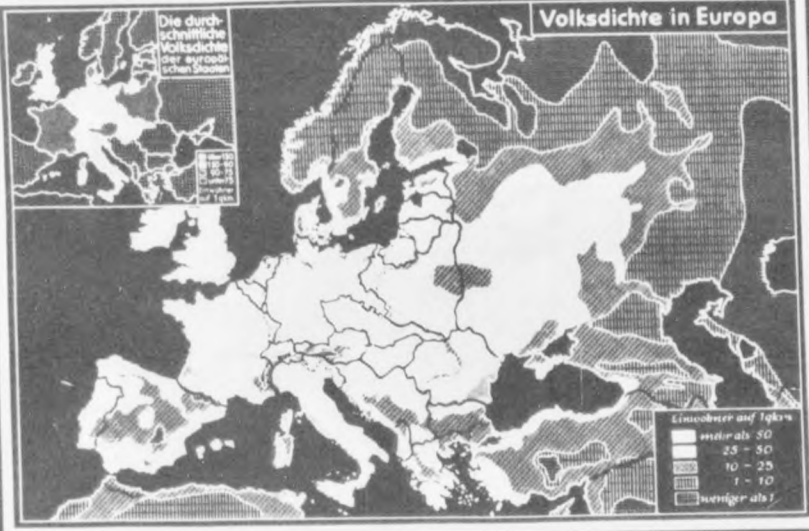
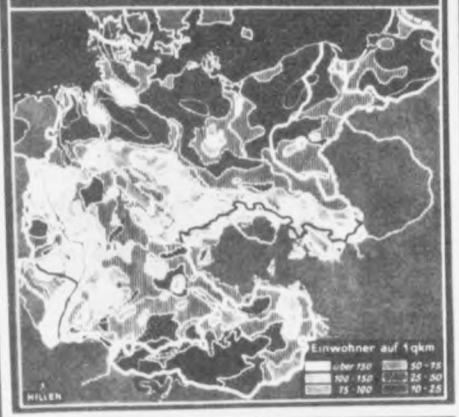
Volksdichte in Europa



Volksdichte in Deutschland

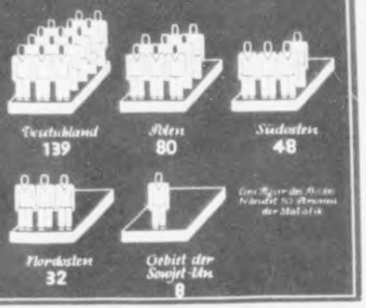


Ost-Westzug der Bevölkerungsbewegung im Reiche als Folge der Industrialisierung

(verstärkt durch die Zerreissung der Ostgebiete)

Übervölkerung in Deutschland – Menschenleere im Osten

Auf 1qkm entfallen Einwohner (in):



Die Lebendgeburten in Europa

71 000 qkm Gebietsverlust für das Deutsche Reich durch das Versailler Diktat verschärft die Raumnot. Der wachsende Geburtenrückgang wird eine nationale Gefahr. Ostraumpolitik und Bevölkerungspolitik der **nationalsozialistischen** Regierung will aus dieser Erkenntnis heraus Abhilfe schaffen. – In der Vorkriegszeit einseitige Verlagerung der nationalen Wirtschaft vornehmlich nach Westdeutschland. Die für Reparationszahlungen erzwungene Ausfuhrwirtschaft der Nachkriegszeit steigert die Entwicklung. Die Binnenwanderung ostdeutscher Bevölkerung nach dem Westen schwächt den Osten. Erst die Weltwirtschaftskrise zeigt den ungeheuren Irrtum. **Nationalwirtschaft**, bewußte **Richtführung** des deutschen Volkes auf seine **bäuerlichen Grundlagen** ist das Werk der **deutschen Revolution 1933**.

Der Geburtenschwund im Deutschen Reich

Auf 1000 Einwohner kamen Lebendgeburten im Jahre:

Braun-Ziegfeld
Geopolitischer Geschichtsatlas

Verlag von
L. Ehlermann in Dresden

Document 5

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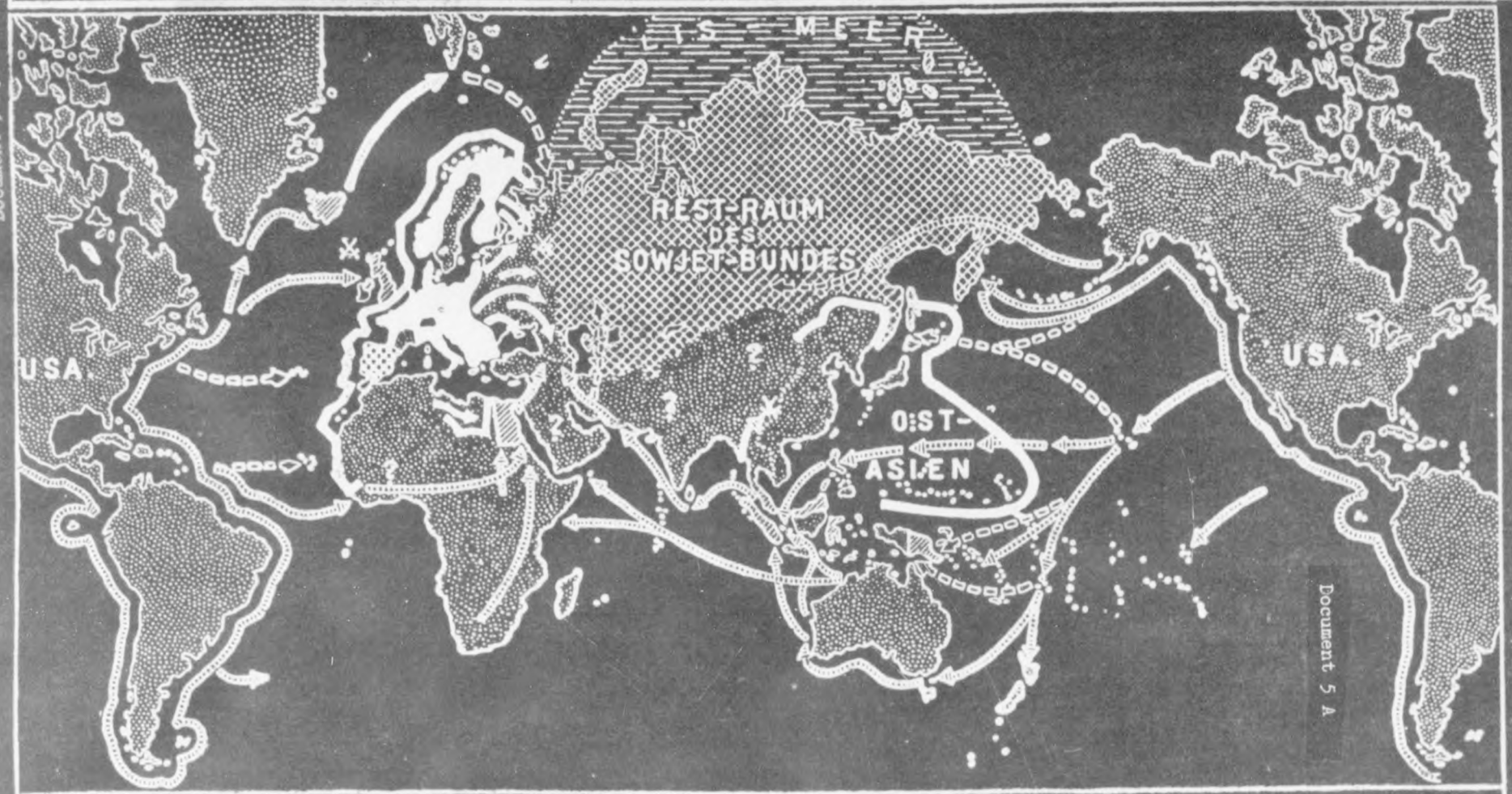
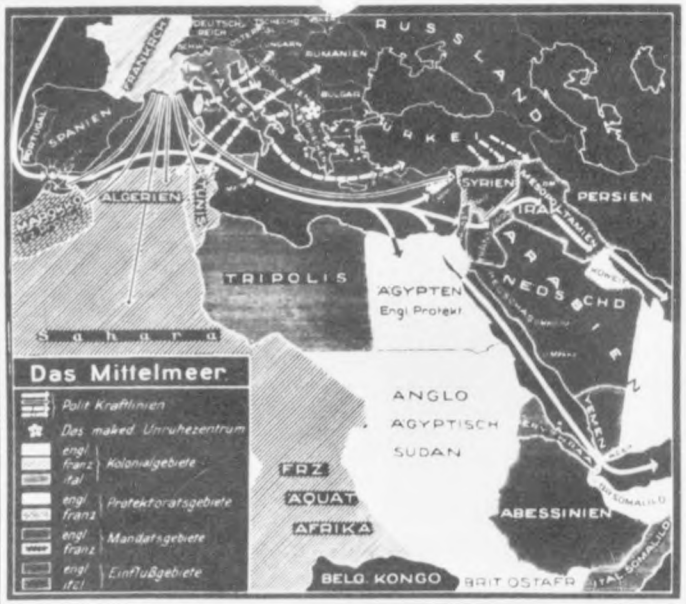
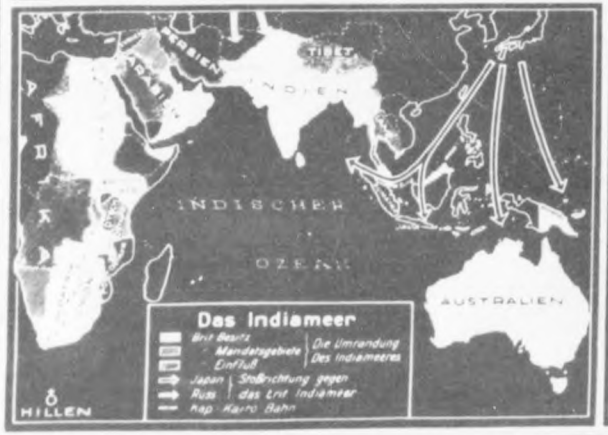


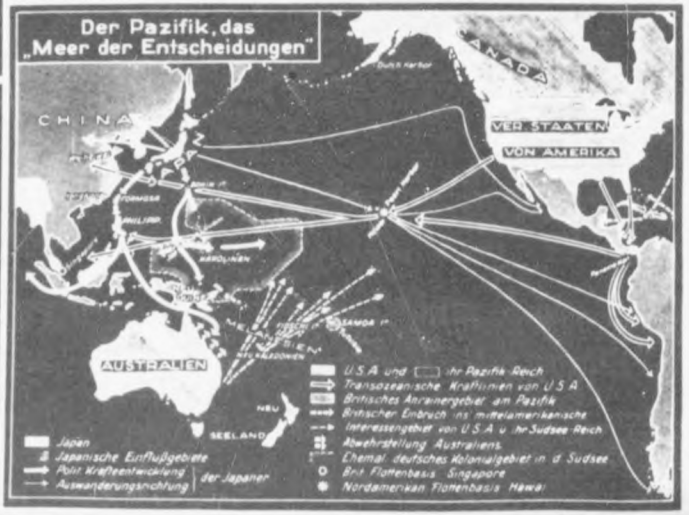
→ tätige und ⇨ angedrohte anglo-amerikanische Kraftlinien zur Kriegs-Erweiterung; Hineindrängen Japans in das Druck-Feld der Gegen-Explosion.

GEOPOLITIK/XIX.JAHRGANG/HE[illegible]1/ENTWURF:HAUSHOF[illegible]R/ZEICHNUNG:STEINAU

LI. Die politischen Gefahrenzonen.







Braun-Ziegfeld Geopolitischer Geschichtsatlas Karte: 1 = 0 200 400 600 Km. Karte: 2 = 0 400 800 1200 Km. Karte: 3 = 0 1 2 4 6 Km. Karte: 4 = 0 1 2 3 4 Km. Verlag von L. Ehlermann in Dresden

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DOCUMENTS RELATING

to

CHARGE No. 2.

H3258 – 0070

Das Neue Reich

Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie

Professor Dr. K. Haushofer

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt

1933

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I.

Faschismus und Volkheitserneuerung als Welt- oder Ländererscheinung?

Wie immer die öffentliche Meinung der Welt oder einzelner Länder und Reiche sich dazu stelle: Tatsache ist, daß drei große Weltvölker mit vieltausendjähriger Geschichte, die Deutschen, die Italiener und die Japaner, seit dem Weltkrieg in ungeheurer innerer Glut Volkheitserneuerungen erlebten, uraltes Volksseelengut wieder aufgeschmolzen und den Aufbau ihres Volkskörpers im Raum gestählt und anders verfugt haben. Tatsache ist, daß der deutsche Funke bereits auf Südafrika übersprang. Tatsache ist, daß kleinere Völker — wie erst jüngst Siam — ihrem Beispiel mit mehr oder weniger Glück folgten; daß Irland und die Schweiz Ansätze dazu zeigten. Tatsache, daß auch in China und Indien die Massen — raum- und schicksalsverbunden auf ihren weiten Kultur-, Volks- und Wirtschaftsböden — in furchtbaren Zuckungen um eine ähnliche Erneuerung ringen. Tatsache ist, daß man vielfach nach dem ersten wieder auf nationalsozialistischem Wege durchgedrungenen Vorbild, dem Italiens, für den dynamischen Vorgang das Schlagwort „Faschismus" prägte, obwohl Deutsche und Japaner — so vielfach sie durch den Faschismus angeregt worden sein mögen — die Anwendung des Bildes aus der römischen Geschichte auf ihre eigene, urtümlich tiefsten Wesenszügen aus Blut und Boden des eigenen Volkstums erwachsene Volkheitserneuerung ebenso ablehnen, wie der führende Mann Italiens erklärt: Faschismus sei kein Exportartikel.

Denn die Bündelung der Ruten oder einzeln so leicht zerbrechlichen Stäbe um das Hoheitszeichen des Staates, das Richtbeil, zur unzerbrechlichen und unantastbaren Einheit ist ein so typisches Kennzeichen und Sinnbild altrömischen Staatsdenkens, im Schwerpunkt Italiens entstanden, daß seine Anwendung auf ein beinahe gleich altes Volkwerden, das auf deutscher Erde, wie in Japan, heilige Sinnbilder genug besitzt, sinnlos wäre. In Japan wird die Übertragung und auch ihre Notwendigkeit bestimmt abgelehnt: die Volkheitserneuerungquelle — im Gegensatz zu Internationalismus und Überfremdung — aus der eigenen Geschichte und ihrem Bewußtsein empor. Darum ist vielleicht auch der Ausdruck Volkwerdung in seiner Anwendung auf einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt nicht glücklich. Ein Volk ist entweder in den

Jahrtausenden seiner Gesamtentwicklung geworden, oder es wird nicht. Es kann in einem flüchtigen Augenblick seiner Geschichte nur — wie der einzelne Mensch auch — einen entscheidenden Wachstumsruck, den Durchbruch zu seiner vollen Größe und Höhe erleben.

Dennoch liegt die Hauptschwierigkeit für eine faschistische oder nationalsozialistische Lebensform, sich in ihrer gesamten Volkwerdung verständlich zu machen, nicht im zeitlichen Ablauf der bald evolutionären, umformenden Werdevorgänge und des Wechsels mit stoßweisen, umstürzenden, revolutionären Perioden, sondern in der räumlichen Auseinandersetzung.

Für sie ist weltüber, außenpolitisch, entscheidend wichtig, ob sich ein so sehr auf das Zusammenwirken von Blut und Boden in einer ganz bestimmten, eigenartigen Landschaft und Volkheit eingestelltes Wesen anderen, benachbarten oder ferneren, zum Eingreifen in sein Raumschicksal befähigten Mächten begreifbar darzustellen vermag: im Rahmen einer weltumspannenden, universalen geistigen Bewegung oder als nur einmalige, örtliche Erscheinung auf Erden.

Wahrscheinlich ist von vornherein, daß ein Reich, ein Volk, eine Rasse wie Italien oder Japan mit so scharf geprägter Eigenart in ihrem wahlverwandten oder bezwungenen Lebensraum den meisten Fremden schwerer begreiflich zu machen sein wird, als viele andere Völker in ihren Staatskörpern, eine Volkheit (Goethe für Nation), die etwa von sich verkündet, wie Italien: „Die italienische Nation ist ein Organismus, der höheres Leben, höhere Ziele und Aktionsmittel besitzt als die Individuen oder Gruppen von Individuen, aus denen sie besteht. Sie ist eine moralische, politische und wirtschaftliche Einheit, die sich in dem faschistischen Staate vollständig verwirklicht." (Carta del Lavoro über die Ethik des faschistischen Staates.)

Wie schwer mußte schon ein so ungeheurer Wandel der gleichen, äußerlich kaum veränderten Lebensform von 1922—1926 von jenen Nachbarstaaten begriffen werden, die noch auf dem Boden der gleichen Staatsauffassung oder gar internationaler übervölkischer Bindungen standen und darauf stehengeblieben waren, wie früher das Italien von 1921 mit seinen 5736 Streiks und 4,8 Millionen Streikenden, die es als Macht unter Mächten fast ohnmächtig gemacht hatten!

1919 schien in der „für Demokratie sichergemachten Welt" die im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg und der ersten französischen Re-

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volution geborene Staatsauffassung der Westmächte, der sich England in einem fast hundertjährigen Ringen bis auf wenige überlebende Formen angeglichen hatte, deren Äußerlichkeiten auch Japan annahm, auf der Gipfelhöhe ihrer Weltgeltung, abgesehen von dem Wirbelstrudel der Sowjetbünde.

Im gleichen Jahre noch schlug der dritte Afghanenkrieg mit dem Frieden von Rawalpindi die erste Bresche in das System, das einen allzu lügenhaften Mißbrauch mit dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der kleinen und großen Völker getrieben hatte. Dem Appell des kleinen Afghanistan und des größeren Persien an die Einlösung des Versprochenen folgten die indischen und chinesischen Massen. Aber auch von den Herrenvölkern selbst löste sich das am meisten um seine Blut- und Wirtschaftsopfer geprellte aus dem Ringe der Kriegsgewinner: Italien! 1931 folgte das scheinbar am opferlosesten in der Nachkriegskonjunktur emporgeschwommene Japan mit einem zuerst rein nationalen, dann schnell nationalsozialistisch gewordenen Tanz aus der Reihe, und 1933 das am schwersten durch den Weltkrieg mitgenommene, verstümmelte und zerschlagene Großvolk der Mitte Europas: das deutsche, nach einem seit 1919 begonnenen, 1923 vorübergehend gehemmten Ringen um die neue Lebensform. Aber in Italien und Japan hatte man bald nach dem Kriegsende mit dieser verwandten Entwicklung Mitteleuropas zu rechnen begonnen — die früher anhub als die italienische, die erst 1922 aufbrach. Man hatte sie ununterbrochen studiert und, wo man konnte, leise unterstützt, wie bei der Ablehnung der Auslieferung der Kriegsführer und in Oberschlesien.

Finden aber mußte sich jedes der faschistischen und nationalsozialistischen Reiche aus eigener Kraft. Das liegt im Wesen des nationalen Sozialismus im Gegensatz zur Internationale. Jedes Reich begegnete zunächst unfreundlicher Verständnislosigkeit, die durch die Abneigung internationaler Konstruktionen und Verbände noch gesteigert wurde. Seltsamerweise fanden sich unter den ersten die russischen Sowjetbünde mit den Neuerscheinungen ab und suchten damit zu paktieren. Es war tatsächlich durchaus nicht so, daß die Italien, Japan und Deutschland gemeinsame nachdrückliche Bekämpfung der marxistischen Auflösungserscheinungen, der zweiten und dritten Internationale, nach der Wendung zum nationalen Sozialismus vorsichtige außenpolitische Verhandlungen mit Moskau unmöglich gemacht hätte.

Im Gegenteil: je klarer die innenpolitische Struktur der verhandelnden Mächte in ihrem starken Nationalismus wurde, um so leichter waren die Sowjets dahin zu bringen, neben andern großen Opfern auch solche ihrer Agitation und Propaganda gegen andere Leistungen daran zu geben. Nur Gegenleistungen mußten es sein. Aber das erwies sich freilich immer erst dann als möglich, wenn sie die Unmöglichkeit erkannt hatten, zuerst einmal für ihre Weltrevolutionsgedanken von der sozialen Gefahrlage gerade der faschistischen Vertragspartner, Nutzen zu ziehen, von ihrem überhöhten Wirtschaftsbau auf zu schmalem Grund für Volksdruck und Industrialisierungsgrad.

Denn darin muß die politische Erdkunde, die Geopolitik, Gesetzmäßiges erkennen, daß zunächst unter den Großvölkern der Erde nicht die weiträumigen Besitzer der großen Land- und Bodenreserven mit dem innerhalb ihrer Kolonialreiche geringen Volksdruck von 7,9, 12, 15,25 auf den Quadratkilometer die rettende Lösung in einem nationalsozialistischen Strukturwandel ihrer Reiche suchten. Sondern es waren die volkreichen, aber raumarmen oder raumberaubten Großmächte Italien, Japan, Deutschland mit ihren furchtbaren Volksdruckzahlen, die für die Gesamttragräume um 140—150 Einwohner auf den Quadratkilometer lagen, aber sofort emporschnellten, wenn man nur die wirklich tragfähigen, die Landarbeit lohnenden Böden in Betracht zog, und für Italien und Deutschland Zahlen von 240—330, 800 und mehr, für Japan die beinahe unwahrscheinliche Höhe von 969 Menschen auf den Quadratkilometer wirklichen Fruchtlandes erreichten.

Jede nationalsozialistische Lebensform bedurfte als Voraussetzung erfolgreicher Außenpolitik zuerst einer gewissen Bewährungsfrist. Hier trat scharf ein weltüber verwendbarer Vergleichsmaßstab für die Möglichkeit des Verstehens nationalsozialistischer Wandlungen zutage. Völker, die sie begreifen sollten, mußten durch die harte Schule verwandten Leidens gegangen sein. Aber auch für das nationale Leid bestand innerhalb der faschistischen Großvölker ein großer Unterschied zwischen Italien und Japan einerseits, Deutschland andrerseits. Italien und Japan besaßen keine Volksgenossen, die durch Gewalt von ihrem Volkskrumpf getrennt waren, sondern nur solche, die sich freiwillig, wenn auch unter sozialem Druck, als Auswanderer losgelöst hatten. Vom Deutschen Reich dagegen war fast ein Drittel der Deutschen in

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Europa (34 Millionen!) gegen ihren Willen vom Volkskörper getrennt. Und Italien wie Japan hatten mit dazu beigetragen.

Das erschwerte das Verständnis von Landschaft zu Landschaft, Reich zu Reich, Rasse zu Rasse, Volk zu Volk, auch wo sonst verwandte Bedingungen des staatlichen Weiterlebens oder Verdorrens bestanden. Ein weltumspannender Unterschied kam hinzu, der nur das deutsche Volk in voller Schwere traf, kein anderes auf Erden, und das Verständnis von Weltteil zu Weltteil erschwerte. Er hing unmittelbar mit der Aufrechterhaltung von Europas Rang als Weltteil zusammen und fiel nur weg, wenn man Europa mit den Eurasiern oder Panasien als nicht viel mehr denn als eine bloße Halbinsel Asiens ansah, wie Indien oder Arabien.

Bei allen anderen Weltteilen besteht die Möglichkeit, dem meist in ihrem äußeren Umzug, in ihrer Peripherie, hochgespannten Volksdruck durch Auswanderung, Überschiebung mit Gewalt oder Einsprenkelung und Unterwanderung, entweder über die Randmeere hinweg transozeanisch oder nach einer meist weit untervölkerten, unzulänglich besiedelten leeren Mitte hin, zu entgehen. Mindestens können das Einzelne mit einem größeren Bedürfnis nach Atem- und Raumweite.

Wo immer wir Europäer mit den Lebensfragen der anderen Erdteile zu tun haben, spricht man über das Innere von einem „toten Herzen" (dead heart of Asia-Australia), von den weiten, leeren Zentralländern (Amerika, Australien); oder die Erdteile tragen in ihrer Mitte in tropischer Fülle (Afrika und Südamerika) weite, fruchtbare, ganz unzulänglich ausgenützte Regenwald-Landschaften (Hylaea). Nur Europa hat ein drucküberfülltes Herz, dessen zwei am meisten volkerfüllte Zonen sich im deutschen Lebensraum überschneiden oder doch berühren, ohne daß ihre Insassen aus der atemraubenden Ellenbogenenge auswandern, ausweichen, sich irgendwohin ausdehnen könnten.

Daher vor allem kommt die schon von Ratzel in ihrer ganzen Gefahr gezeichnete Verständnislosigkeit weiträumig denkender asiatischer und amerikanischer Staatsmänner für die hochdifferenzierte und schwierige, aus vielen feinen historischen Fäden gewobene politische, nationale und soziale Struktur Innereuropas; sie besteht naturgemäß auch gegenüber inneren Verfestigungen und Zusammenschlüssen dieser unter so rauhen fremden Eingriffen scheinbar hoffnungslos ver-

wüsteten Struktur. Deren einzelne Teile haben in Deutschland, Danzig und Österreich längst begriffen, daß sie mit U. S.-amerikanischen oder sowjetrussischen Methoden noch viel schneller und tiefer in des Teufels Küche kommen würden, als wenn sie die ihnen aufgedrängten unnationalen politischen Formen in der seinerzeit aufgepreßten Form beibehielten, aber um jeden Preis ihre eigenen, wesensgemäßen Lebensformen suchen wollten. Erkenntnisse also, die dem Mitteleuropäer in ihrem vollen Umfang, auch mit den nötigen Opfern, begreiflich sind, die in Italien, Japan und an einigen andern Erdstellen aus verwandten, aber nicht gleich dringenden Nöten wenigstens teilweise verstanden werden, ja selbst in großräumige Gebiete, wie Südafrika, aus innerer völkischer Verwandtschaft überschlagen, sind den westlichen Kolonialmächten, den Großraumbesitzern der Erde, vorerst befremdlich. Sie scheinen ihnen wegen der ungeheuren volkspolitischen Dynamik gefährlich und unheimlich und deshalb schon bekämpfenswert; schon wegen ihrer internationalen Tragweite. Denn diese wird oft von den Faschisten selbst unterschätzt und verkannt.

Kennzeichnend dafür, wie sehr es sich im Nationalsozialismus um eine weltüberspannende Bewegung, nicht nur eine — als solche schon bedeutsame — ortsgebundene Ländererscheinung handelt, ist ja auch vielfach die Wahlverwandtschaft leitender Symbole, der Tracht. Sie wirkt zuweilen als Leitfeuer der geistigen Bewegung. Den Schwarzhemden Italiens, den Braunhemden Deutschlands folgen die Blauhemden in China und Irland, die Grauhemden der Schweiz. Und selbst da, wo zunächst nur einzelne die Stellen werdender Kampffronten markieren, wie in Spanien E. Gimenez Caballero*, selbst da, „wo es sich um einen Faschismus handelt, der sich nicht auf dem Blutmäßigen, sondern auf dem Geiste gründet" — wie man in Spanien glaubt —, selbst da erkennt man durchaus verwandte Antriebe und Abzeigungen.

Das fühlt man etwa durch, wenn Caballero „das Bastardwesen der spanischen Linken" geißelt, wenn er „den Katholizismus Azañas, der spanischen Radikalsozialisten und Sozialrepublikaner einen Bastard-Katholizismus" nennt, welcher „unecht und falsch . . . der Demo-

*) Vgl.: „Die Grundlagen eines spanischen Faschismus", Europäische Revue, Mai 1933, S. 294—301, Deutsch von Otto Frh. v. Taube, oder El Genio de España. Madrid, 1932.

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kratie, nicht von Rom, sondern von Genf" entstammt. Wie sehr auch Caballero im Grunde freilich instinktmäßig auf dem Blut steht, verrät er in seinen Verwürfen gegen die spanische Aristokratie, daß sie sich durch Blutmischungen zu stark verbastardisiert habe, „daß sie aufgehört habe, spanisch und Aristokratie zu sein".

Auch der Gedanke der Reichserneuerung, an den „Geburtstag Roms", an das „Dritte Reich" gemahnend, aber auch an den Thron, „der dauert wie Himmel und Erde" im Fernen Osten, glüht bei Caballero aus dem Stolz auf die spanische Herrscherreihe Trajans (übrigens auch Hadrians), der „germanischen Könige", Reccareds im sechsten, Alfons VII., des „imperator totius Spaniae", im 12. Jahrhundert; Alfons X. im 13. Jahrhundert; Karls V. „des germanischen Kaisers im Dienste des römischen Gottes", und Philipps II., mit „Escorial und Lepanto" hervor: „Triumph über dem Westen und Triumph über dem Osten". Das ist vorläufig noch alleinstehendes, aber doch vorhandenes und kämpfendes Ahnen spanischer Volkheitserneuerung aus einem allerdings tiefen Fall — aber immerhin auch dort mögliche nationalsozialistische Rettungswege zeigend.

Die Erhebung aus tiefem Fall knüpft sich bei vielen nationalen Auferstehungen immer an Minderheiten, an wenige Namen, an Einzelne und ihre Gruppen, die sich den nationalen Glauben bewahrten und doch auch die soziale Liebe. Und alles kommt nur darauf an, mit welcher Willenskraft sie eine heilige Flamme und ihre Hoffnung vorwärts tragen und mit welchem Grad von Torheit gerade ihre Gegner ihnen den kostbaren Brennstoff zuführen und bereitstellen, der ihre Fackel zum Volksbrand aufloben läßt, wie anscheinend eben in Österreich.

In allen Fällen gehört dazu der gepreßte Drang hochwertiger Jugend ohne Atemraum und Betätigungsmöglichkeit, fast noch weniger „Volk ohne Raum" als volksbewegende Jugendkraft ohne Raum. War es im italienischen Fall das Gezerr um Fiume, im japanischen die Zurückstellung durch das Vorenthalten blutig erkämpfter Raumrechte in der Mandschurei, was mächtigen Wind in die Segel nationalsozialistischer Bewegungen führte, so in Deutschland das vollkommene Abschneiden einer hochfliegenden Jugend von großräumiger Betätigungsmöglichkeit, die doch das Bewußtsein ihres raumbewältigenden Wertes in sich trug.

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Gewiß setzen sich die Mehrheiten heutiger Kulturvölker aus allzu seßhaften, in der Lebenshaltung verwöhnten Menschen zusammen, denen die Ausdehnungs- und Wanderwünsche der großräumig Angelegten unter ihnen eher unheimlich als unterstützenswert erscheinen (daher der Widerstand des normalen Gewerkschafts-Beamtentums gegen die Anreger der N.S.). Aber ebenso sicher fügt man durch Einbannen der echten „Wandervögel" und Soldatennaturen auf unmögliche Enge erst den Sauerteig zu der dann in unberechenbaren Formen aufgehenden Masse. Das hat eine vorgealterte Weltorganisation von unmöglicher Dynamik wie die von Genf — auf der Statik einmaliger Gewaltverträge beruhend — nun von einer Entwicklung zur andern erlebt, ohne jemals mit ihnen Schritt halten zu können: nicht in Lausanne und seither mit dem Italien Mussolinis; nicht in Genf und London mit dem Japan der Araki und Hiranuma, und nicht in Genf und London mit dem Deutschland Adolf Hitlers. Sie rächte sich dann durch umfangreiches Schreibwerk, das niemand las, so wenig wie die verschiedenen Weißbücher, Blaubücher, Braunbücher, Rotbücher der Einzelparlamente, die eine wirkliche Volksbewegung so wenig aufzuhalten vermögen, wie man in der physischen Erdkunde einen Vulkanausbruch oder Eisgang durch die Tätigkeit eines Radiermessers oder eine Verbotstafel an einer Landesgrenze aufhalten kann. Denn es liegt im Wesen jeder nationalsozialistischen Tiefenbewegung, daß sie erst mit der Erfassung aller wesensverwandten Volkselemente ein erstes Ziel erreicht, wie der Präriebrand, wenn die Steppe endet.

Sehr einfach also ist die Frage des Nationalsozialismus an die Geopolitik zu beantworten, soweit sie die Ausdehnungsmöglichkeit und Fortwirkung des einmal aufgesprungenen nationalsozialistischen Gedankens als Rückschlag gegen Entnationalisierung in dem Volkskörper betrifft, in dem er endogen aus gleicher Not und gleichem Wunsch erwachsen ist. Kein Volkssplitter wird sich ihm entziehen können, der noch den vollen kulturpolitischen Zusammenhang mit dem alten Stock bewahrt hat.

Daher die tiefe Bewegung im kultur-, stamm- und volksverwandten Österreich. Daher die Unmöglichkeit sogar für die dem Krieg und seiner Seelenerschütterung ferngebliebene kulturdeutsche Schweiz, sich ihrer Wucht ganz zu entziehen. Daher das Übergreifen der Bewegung in die fernsten, ehedem kulturpolitisch mit dem deutschen Volkstum zu-

sammenhängenden Kolonialräume — trotz allem wirtschaftlichen Druck, trotz aller übermächtigen politischen Bindung, wie in den afrikanischen Mandatgebieten, namentlich in Südwestafrika.

Aber bezeichnend ist auch, daß die kulturpolitisch abgesprengten Niederländer, trotz aller nordischen Rassenverwandtschaft friesischer und fränkischer Herkunft, sich im holländischen Mutterland wie im südafrikanischen Burenelement zumeist ablehnend verhalten, ebenso wie im behäbigen, raumweiten oder überseeisch geöffneten Skandinavien nur eine Minderheit sich über wirtschaftspolitische anderweitige Bindungen hinweg rassenpolitischer Zusammenhänge erinnert.

An dieser Beobachtung stellt die vergleichende Überschau der politischen Erdkunde fest, daß es immer noch weit eher gelungen ist, das Sakrale des Bodens überall wieder zur Geltung zu bringen, als die nordische Rassenmystik auch nur die Ostsee entlang ethnopolitisch wieder aufklingen zu lassen, so sehr sich in Schweden, wie in Deutschland, ein kleiner Kreis darum bemüht.

Erstaunlich ist nur, daß in diesem Fall bekämpft wird, was in viel größerem Stil von der Welt in der lateinischen, slawischen, in der japanischen Südseepolitik als selbstverständliches politisches Propagandamittel hingenommen wurde, und in der britischen Reichspolitik wie der U.S.-amerikanischen Wirtschaftspolitik so landläufig ist: daß man den verkappten imperialistischen Gebrauch (z. B. durch das Imperial Institute, London, durch Ottawa) durchaus in der Ordnung findet. Selbst wenn sehr reale Schwierigkeiten sich der politischen Wiederherstellung eines Rassenideals in einer Volksseele entgegentürmen, selbst wenn das kaltblütige U.S.-amerikanische Verdammungsurteil „Alpinisation of Germany" in Lothrop Stoddards „Race Realities of Europe" recht hätte mit seiner Behauptung von 17% Selbstzerstörung der kampffrohen nordischen Rasse bis auf etwa 17%, bestände doch das unbestreitbare Recht eines Volkstums, einem alten Ideal wieder zuzustreben, genau so, wie sich Italien und Japan wissenschaftlich ihrer ausgesprochenen Rassenmischung durchaus bewußt sind und trotzdem Wunschträume kleiner Minderheiten auf ein Rassenideal hin als Antriebe für ihre Massen einsetzen — und mit großem Erfolg!

So scheint nach allen Erfahrungen der politischen Erdkunde wie der Völkerpolitik der Volleinsatz auch nur in Bruchteilen erweisbarer

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Rassenwerte zur Steigerung der staatlichen Geltung, zunächst im eigenen Volkstum, dann in dessen umstrittene Grenzräume hinein und schließlich unter völliger Umspannung zur Strahlung in weltpolitische Verlagerungen hinüber durchaus berechtigt und im Erfolg nur durch die dabei aufgewandte Geschicklichkeit begrenzt.

Sehr stark wird der Erfolg aber mitbestimmt durch die Kenntnis der Formen, in denen sich nationale Strömungen und Antriebe international umschalten und auswerten lassen.

Zunächst ist nicht zu leugnen, daß ein schärferes Abheben der Volkseigenart von ihrer Umwelt auf diese abstoßend wirkt und vorerst zu Gegenbewegungen führen kann. Nur die ausgesprochene Schutzlage vor der Wendung zum pazifischen Zeitalter hat Japan eine fast vollständige Abschließung von nahen und fernen Staaten durch fast 2½ Jahrhunderte ungestraft ermöglicht, die allerdings einen seltenen Grad von Rassenverschmelzung und Einheitlichkeit des Inselvolks herbeiführte. Eine solche absolute Abschließung ist für Volksböden wie den deutschen oder italienischen eine Unmöglichkeit. Aber außer Zweifel steht, daß beide einen viel höheren Grad von Selbstgenügsamkeit, Unabhängigkeit erlangen können, als sie ihn leichtsinnigerweise vor dem Weltkrieg, im Vertrauen auf eine in Wirklichkeit nicht bestehende Weltsolidarität, angestrebt hatten. Auf diesem Felde werden die Leitgedanken des Nationalsozialismus wie des Faschismus noch am ehesten verstanden werden, wenn auch gewiß von gesättigten Staaten und ihren Wirtschaftsreichen (wie Frankreich) her das Gespenst einer Weltkontingentierung der Erzeugung droht.

Fassen wir also die Ergebnisse einer ersten Untersuchung des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens in der Welt daraufhin, ob es sich etwa einseitig um eine erdumspannende oder nur land- wie rassenbestimmte Bewegung handelt, zusammen, so bleibt uns nichts übrig, als die deutsche Volkheitserneuerung wie den italienischen Faschismus und die Zurückwendung der japanischen Volksseele auf ihre nationalsozialistischen, mehr als tausendjährigen Entwicklungswege genau so im doppelten Lichte zu sehen wie die Ansätze dazu in vielen anderen Ländern der Erde: im Lichte einer Welt- und Ländererscheinung.

Dadurch wird das Problem von einem solchen des deutschen Volksbodens und der urgermanischen Erde freilich auf eine viel höhere und weitere Ebene emporgerissen: die der ganzen Erdoberfläche. Wir könn-

ten eine Weltkarte des Nationalsozialismus zeichnen, wie eine solche der Selbstbestimmung, und darin die Stellen reinster Ausprägung mit starken, lebhaften Tönen der Farbenplastik malen, und von ihnen aus ihre Ausstrahlung abstufen.

Das würde auf der einen Seite die Größe der Selbstbehauptungsaufgabe wie die Fernziele der Werbetätigkeit des Nationalsozialismus als Bewegung enthüllen, auf der andern aber dem einzelnen Nationalsozialisten tröstlich sein. Denn es ist ja auch unzweifelhaft, daß sich weltgeschichtliche Entwicklungen, die ursprünglich der Ausfluß höchst internationaler Theorien zu sein glaubten, immer mehr unter den Fäusten und Füßen ihrer Gewalthaber auf ihre nationale Eigenart besinnen, die gegenüber einem Mittelmaß menschlicher Leistung immer wieder mit der ganzen Wucht der Wirkung des Bodens und Raumes wiederkehrt — je mehr ihn die Rasse als kongenial empfindet, desto mehr —, wie wir es ja im Nahen Osten, in der Türkei und in Iran nach dem Weltkrieg erlebten.

Tröstlich ist auch, wie bei der Auswirkung des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens in der Welt immer wieder die Überlegenheit des nationalen Willens — namentlich auf sakral gehaltenem Boden, in einem dem Blut und der Rasse kongenialen Raum — gegenüber scheinbar weit stärkeren Macht- und Wirtschaftsbindungen hervortrat und sich im weltgeschichtlichen Wellengang als immer wiederkehrende Kraft erweisen läßt.

II.

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt in seiner zeitlichen Erscheinung

Die ganz großen Antriebe der Menschheit durchziehen in stetem Ringen, in immer erneuten Anläufen die Geschichte, so weit zurück wir sie kennen, aber mit grundverschiedener Wirkungsdauer der Einzelerscheinungen.

Unter den langfristigen Kräften zur Erhaltung der Macht im Raum mit den entsprechenden kulturpolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Ausstrahlungen tritt auch dem völlig objektiven Beobachter an hervorragender Stelle der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt entgegen, namentlich dann, wenn er sich (nach der Einteilung von Roscher

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in seiner Naturgeschichte der Monarchie, Aristokratie, Demokratie und ihrer Entartungsformen) in seinem Führungsgrundsatz mit dem besonders langlebigen Element einer sozial eingeschränkten, gebändigten und dadurch vor ihrer Entartung durch Ausschließung geschützten sozialen Aristokratie verband. Auf solchem Grunde ruhten die dauerhaftesten, rassenhygienisch instinktsichersten Staatenbildungen. Sie verdankten (wie Sparta, Alt-Iran, das konfuzianische China, das zweieinhalbtausendjährige Japan u. a.) diese Dauer im Grunde nur einem folgerichtigen Anwenden und Sichern des Führergedankens, der Herrschaft der Besten. Dabei war es eine Organisationsfrage minderer Wichtigkeit, ob sie an die Spitze ein Doppelkönigtum setzten (wie Sparta), einen Senat mit Wahlkonsuln und Diktatoren (wie das patrizische Rom), Dogen (wie Venedig), die Spannung zwischen einem Hieromonarchen und Ahnenhohenpriester als Kaiser mit einem weltlichen Reichsmarschall (wie Japan ein Jahrtausend lang) oder wechselnde Dynastien über einem Beamtentum oder Lehensbau (wie China und das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation). Denn auch diese Schöpfung des leider so kleinen, aus der Völkerwanderung erhaltenen Restes der deutschen Stämme ist — trotz ihren vielen Leiden und den beständigen Entmachtungsanfällen — eine erstaunlich langlebige Lebensform gewesen und hat ihren Reichsgedanken durch viele Wandlungen in eine zweite und dritte Umbildung hineingerettet.

Wir sehen also — geopolitisch vergleichend — das erhaltende Prinzip in der nationalen, möglichst rasseneinheitlichen Ausprägung des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens, vereint mit einer zuletzt rassenhygienisch untermauerten Erhaltung des Führertums der Besten auf aristokratischem, auswählendem, immer neu prüfendem, nicht mit erblichen Leben und Besitz verknüpftem Wege.

Das Nationale mußte also auch aus tiefer staatsbiologischer und weltgeschichtlicher Erkenntnis dem Sozialen bei der Namengebung vorangestellt werden, wie es Hitler mit seiner politisch-wissenschaftlichen Instinktsicherheit ebenso tat wie die uralte, herrschaftsgewohnte japanische Samuraikaste (über deren Fortleben in erneuerter Form wir Spengler beruhigen können; dieser „prachtvolle Staat" ist noch nicht im Begriff, um die Ecke zu gehen; und gerade die gerügten „Ministermorde" sind aus Samuraigeist vollzogen worden, weil die betreffenden Minister den Samurai zu wenig national waren).

Überbetonung des Sozialen oder auch nur Vorbetonen mußte staatsbiologisch die Neuschöpfung eben dem „Fellachentum" entgegenführen, von dem Hitler, Mussolini, Araki und die Seinen ihre Völker um jeden Preis zurückreißen wollten. Die erste Hemmung eines bergab rollenden Fahrzeugs aber ist in jedem solchen Fall die entscheidende, die rettende Tat. Deshalb verdient hier ein Stammler-Zitat Erwähnung, das Rudolf Heß schon 1920 auf Hitler anwandte: „Den Beginn wagen in allem, was sein muß: das ist die Größe und das Kennzeichen der Führerschaft. Die Fortsetzung wagt nachher jeder leicht." Deutschland in einem preisgekrönten Aufsatz über die Frage eines Auslanddeutschen „Wie muß der Mann beschaffen sein, der Deutschland wieder zur Höhe führt?", in dem auch die kurze, aber inhaltschwere Zeile zu lesen war: „Die Grundlage aller Völkergröße ist Nationalbewußtsein, der Wille eines Volkes zur Selbstbehauptung in der Welt" — nicht zur Selbsthingabe an ein verwaschenes Gesamtmenschheitsziel, sondern an einen Höchstbeitrag nationaler Leistung zu ihm! „Der deutsche Diktator muß ihn erst wieder wecken, heranzüchten."

Diese schlichte, scheinbar so selbstverständliche, von den zwei entscheidenden Nachkriegsmehrheiten Deutschlands aber nicht begriffene Tatsache aber ist die staatsbiologisch entscheidende, wenn wir nicht nur räumlich, wie im ersten Abschnitt, sondern zeitlich, weltgeschichtlich rückprüfend die Wellenhöhen des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens untersuchen.

Wir setzen an die Spitze dieser Untersuchung den nachdenklichen Schluß aus einer geistvollen Besprechung des Buches von Walter Frank: „Nationalsozialismus und Demokratie" von Hans Bogner, die unter gleichem Titel in den M.N.N. erschien. Er lautet: „Aus der Geschichte zu lernen, ist schwer ... die Richtungsänderung in der deutschen Politik, die so viele vor Verblüffung starr machte" — wo hatten sie ihre Augen? — „konnte den Verfasser dieses in langen Arbeitsjahren entstandenen Buches nicht überraschen" — auch die Geopolitik nicht, die 1924 in ihrer Zeitschrift einen Programmaufsatz über nationalen Sozialismus und soziale Aristokratie geschrieben hatte —, „er erkannte das unterirdische Kommen des Neuen. Es ist eine europäische Wendung; das neue System wird sich nach einer Formulierung von Rudolf Heß, wenn auch in völkisch bedingten Abwandlungen, auch in der übrigen Welt durchsetzen."

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Was gilt hier? Die „europäische Wendung", die zu wenig wäre!, oder die „übrige Welt" des stolzen Apostelrufes von Rudolf Heß?

Hier liegt ein Schrankenunterschied von weltgeschichtlicher Bedeutung; und der erfahrene Auslanddeutsche mit seinem weiten Weltbild weiß, warum er die europazentrische Schranke umstößt und für seine Bewegung den weltweiten Schauplatz fordert. Ist es aus weltgeschichtlichen Erfahrungen berechtigt, daß er es tat? Ein berühmtes evangelisches Beispiel leuchtet ihm voran: „Gehet hin und lehret alle Völker", nicht etwa nur die syrische Landbrücke, den Nahen Osten, die Mittelmeerländer. Wer dieses Wort anerkennt, muß es für jede Lehre gelten lassen, die Überzeugungskraft hat. Aber kann sie die Ausdehnung weltüber wünschen, wenn sie das Nationale so ausgesprochen voran und obenan stellt, und nicht mit dem alternden Römertum und der sozial unterhöhlten Antike entformt und gestaltlos werden will, wie vordem das entadelte und übersozialisierte Athen, das unter den Fuß des national-sozial und sozial-aristokratisch gebliebenen Sparta geriet, um dann der römischen Welt Barbiere und Schulmeister zu liefern, Kellner, Stewards und Gouvernanten?

Das Beispiel des Absinkens der Adelsethik im alten Athen durch die Kassenerstarrung zum übersozialisierten Niederbruch, der Ausgang dieses Abringens ist nicht ermutigend, so wenig wie der Abschluß des Goldenen Buches in Venedig.

Eine Aufsatzreihe von Friedrich Zimmermann (Ferdinand Fried), aus der „Nationalsozialismus als Geschichtsepoche" und „Nationalsozialismus in der Welt" hervorragen, gibt uns willkommene Gelegenheit, die Rückwirkung der wirklichen Tat auf den sogenannten „Tat"-Kreis als vergleichbare Erscheinung zu prüfen. Dabei wird man unwillkürlich an die Feststellungen Werner Jägers über die Art erinnert, wie Solon, Xenophanes, Theognis und Pindar im griechischen Mutterland auf das Einströmen der modernen jonischen Kultur und die Abwehr des älteren Rassenelements reagierten.

Solche Rückschläge müssen immer national auf uns wirken, und in diesem Sinn werden wir die These anerkennen dürfen: „Revolutionen sind national". Aber sie sind oft der Rückschlag einer im Grunde erhaltenden, boden- und rassenständigen Kraft gegen die Flut der Überfremdung, gegen das Internationale, das zuweilen zersetzend unter revolutionärer Maske auftritt oder sich einschleicht und sich

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plötzlich revolutionär aufrichtet. Der andere Leitsatz von Zimmermann-Fried: „Revolutionen sind expansiv" gilt besonders dann, wenn sie aus der Zusammendrängung lebenskräftiger Völker auf ein Mindestmaß an Raum entsprungen sind. Hier wirkt ein geographisches Motiv, das man häufig auf dem Grunde weltberühmter Revolutionen findet, nicht zuletzt unter den Antrieben der französischen von 1789, nach dem Verlust des ersten französischen Übersee-reichs, der bolschewistischen von 1917 an nach der Lostrennung Zwischeneuropas, aber auch der uralten jonischen von 500 v. Chr. und vieler anderer, die sich dann schon aus Selbsterhaltungsgründen bemühten, ihr Gedankengut erobernd auszubreiten, so weit es tragen wollte, namentlich aber in entfremdete Räume hinein, um sie wieder zu gewinnen. Wie verständnislos oft die berühmtesten Intellektuellen solcher Völker diesen Raumverengerungsvorgängen gegenüberstehen, aus deren Druck dann wesentliche Antriebe echt nationaler Revolutionen stammen, dafür hat Voltaire das denkwürdigste Beispiel gegeben, als er die Franzosen über den Verlust Kanadas und des Mississippitales mit der witzig sein sollenden, heute wohl als albern zu bezeichnenden Bemerkung tröstete: „Was hat man uns denn weggenommen: ein paar Quadratmeilen Schnee." Das erinnert an Caprivis Ausspruch: „Je weniger Afrika, desto besser", den Zentrum, Liberalismus und Sozialdemokratie ebenso beifällig begrüßten wie jener unverbesserliche Teil der preußischen Konservativen, der nur über „die gräßliche Flotte" zu jammern wußte, ein engräumiger und kleinmütiger Ausspruch, der im damaligen Deutschland nur sehr wenig Widerspruch erweckt hat und Zustimmung bei allen späteren Gegnern des Nationalsozialismus fand.

Aber auch Perikles hatte schon den Beifall der Athener gefunden, als er den Reichsschatz des Seebundes von Delos nach Athen überführte und für Prachtbauten und Sozialbeihilfen, verbilligten Theaterbesuch und ähnliches verpulverte, statt ihn für Seerüstungen auszugeben — für die er bestimmt war — oder als Notrücklage zu behüten. Wellington erhielt in seinem lebenswichtigen Kampf auf der spanischen Halbinsel sogar von den sozialaristokratischen Staatsmännern seiner Heimat einen Ersatz an Kriegern zugeleitet, von dem er schaudernd ausrief: „Ich weiß nicht, welchen Eindruck diese Männer auf die Franzosen machen werden, aber jedenfalls erschrecken sie mich!" Dieser große Führer, der immer sichtbar das Soziale hinter das Nationale

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zurückstellte, so oft es darüber hervorbrach, ist — mit Ausnahme weniger Augenblicke seines Siegerlebens — niemals wirklich volkstümlich gewesen, so wenig wie etwa Marschall Yamagata in Japan.

Nur in seltenen Ausnahmefällen, in dringenden nationalen Nöten, erweckt der Rückruf zu heroischer Weltanschauung in der richtigen Verbindung des Nationalen und Sozialen weithin Volkstümlichkeit. Das beweist die uralte Reihe seit Solon und seiner freiwilligen Verbannung über Meister Kung, Timoleon, Cato, die Scipionen und Sulla, die großen venezianer Dogen und deutschen Bauernkönige, die Reformatoren und ihre Nachfahren seither. Der Gefahrenpunkt ist eine erste kritische Wendung schon zumeist in dem Augenblick, in dem der nationalsozialistische Reformator und Revolutionär jene Sendung erfüllt, die C. F. Meyer mit den klassischen Worten beschreibt: „Ein weltbewegender Mensch hat zwei Ämter: er vollzieht, was die Zeit fordert, dann aber — und das ist sein schwereres Amt — steht er wie ein Gigant gegen den aufspritzenden Gischt des Jahrhunderts und schleudert hinter sich die aufgeregten Narren und bösen Buben, die mittun wollen, das gerechte Werk übertreibend und schändend." Es gehört zu den Feinheiten weltgeschichtlicher Satire, daß der große deutschfreundliche Schweizer, der Dichter des „Hutten", diese Worte dem Gesandten des Papstes in Mailand über Martin Luther in den Mund legt: ein Schweizer Patrizier, der ausgerechnet dem temperamentvollsten Vorläufer des nationalen Sozialismus auf deutscher Erde, Ulrich von Hutten, das schönste literarische Denkmal gesetzt hat, das voller weltgeschichtlicher Wahrheiten steckt.

Zu diesen Wahrheiten gehört, daß echt nationalsoziale Bewegungen, zu denen zweifellos die Reformation gehört, in ihren Kernräumen Rückschläge gerade durch übersteigerte soziale Begleiterscheinungen wie den Bauernkrieg, die Ritterrevolte, Thomas Münzer u. a. erfahren und dadurch in ihrer Strahlungskraft geschwächt werden. Andere, von dort aus durchstrahlte Räume, wohin die Bewegung erst übersprang, die aber das Nationale dauernd voranstellten, wie England, die Niederlande und Schweden, weil sie das Beispiel aufnahmen, sich jedoch über der Lehre nicht zerklüfteten, zogen ungleich größeren Nutzen von ihr. Während der deutsche Norden und Süden im Luther-Zwingli-Streit auseinanderfuhren, dessen Hauptnutznießer die Gegenreformation und der Welsche Calvin in Genf wurden, erntete das Angel-

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sachsentum als eine Spätfrucht den Riesen-Cant der puritanisch-großkapitalistischen Weltanschauung und Weltausbeutung.

Hier steckt — neben der Selbstzerstörung Griechenlands — vielleicht die tiefste Tragik einer nationalsozialistischen Revolution zur Wiederherstellung eines unter Überfremdung zugrunde gegangenen Rassenideals, das eingeschleppte Weltanschauungen überflutet hatten.

Diese Tragik steigt aus naheliegenden Gefahrmöglichkeiten zur Peripetie empor, gerade bei einer mit unduldsamer Reinheit vorangetragenen Lehre aus den tiefsten Erkenntnissen über die Strahlungsmöglichkeit des Nationalsozialismus und seiner Gedankenwelt von seinen Herden aus in von fremden Ideen beherrschte Räume alter und neuer Welten.

III.

Die Strahlungs- und Verbreitungsmöglichkeit des Nationalsozialismus von seinen Herden aus in die von andern Ideen beherrschten Räume hinein

Ausdehnungsverschiedenheit in alter und neuer Welt

Drei große und wichtige Herde des Nationalsozialismus hatten wir in der Tatsachenbetrachtung des ersten Abschnitts erkannt, die freilich in sehr verschiedenen, ungleich von der politischen Erdkunde begünstigten Teilgebieten der Erde flammten. Den ersten Herd nähren wir in dem weiten und doch so sehr eingepreßten Lande der Mitte Europas nördlich der Alpen, südlich der nordischen Meere, von wo seine formgebende Rasse einst ausgezogen war; vom Westen durch den eingestürzten, weichenden Wall einer wenigstens einheitlichen Sprachgrenze abgeschieden, im Osten mit drei Zungen und vielen Streusiedlungen kaum merkbar ins Westslawentum verkeilt. Einen zweiten Herd gab es im Herzen der Mittelmeerwelt, der einst Kernland eines Weltreichs gewesen war; einen dritten im Fernen Osten am Rande des Pazifischen Ozeans. Sie besaßen ganz ungleiche Strahlungsmöglichkeiten, schon in ihren geopolitischen Grundeigenschaften als nur über See erreichbarer Inselbogen, als nur über See oder durch die Alpen erreichbare Halbinsel, und als ein von allen Seiten dem feindlichen Zugriff ausgesetztes, fast nicht durch Naturgrenzen geschütztes, des größten Teils

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seiner einstigen weiten Meerberührung beraubtes, innerlich aber zergrenztes Binnenland. War es ein Wunder, wenn — bei dem Wunsche gleicher Strahlungskraft und gleichen Rechtes im Rate der Völker — der von Natur so stiefmütterlich bedachte deutsche Herd heller und schärfer brennen mußte, Fremdkörper härter zu treffen hatte, sein Rassenidol noch ausschließlicher betonte, wenn ihm schon als Ausdehnungswillen vorwurfsvoll angekreidet wurde, was nur ein notwendiger Selbsterhaltungstrieb war? Daß Italien Trient und Triest sich angliedern wollte, wie vorher Mailand und Venedig, fand man selbst in U.S.-Amerika berechtigt, und Italien riß darüber hinaus zu seiner größeren strategischen Sicherheit Fetzen aus kerndeutschem Land. Daß Japans Ferngefühl nicht nur die seit 1807 herantastenden Fremdmächte von Yezo-Hokkaido, Tsushima, den Bonin- und Vulkaninseln fernzuhalten strebte, sondern 1905 bei den Angelsachsen mit derselben Vorstellung durchdrang, die England für Flandern (besonders Antwerpen) hegte, daß Korea eine auf Japans Brust gerichtete Pistole sei und dann mit seinem Sicherheitsbedürfnis bis in die Mongolei ausholte: damit fand sich die Welt stillschweigend oder unter papierenen Protesten ab.

Aber daß deutsches Volk auf uraltem deutschen Land, wie längs der Donau und an der Weichselmündung, in Österreich und Danzig, mit dem alten Volksboden zugleich in dieselbe Blutwallung geriet, das sollte bereits Expansion sein. Darum wurde der Nationalsozialismus in Deutschland als „Brandfackel" verschrien oder, wie im „Economist", hämisch mit einer Kinderkrankheit verglichen, die „auf das kühlste Volk Europas, die Schweizer überzugreifen drohe", Echo in Ungarn, ja schon Widerklang in den Niederlanden und in Skandinavien finde. Dagegen wurden vom Westen Europas her Dämme gebaut: nicht nur so weit die unmittelbare hemmende Kraft Englands und Frankreichs reichte, sondern auch, so weit das westslawische Bündnissystem der kleinen Entente mobil zu machen war, dem man den Rücken durch Pakte mit den Sowjets entlastete. Aber dabei vergaß man, daß namentlich die südosteuropäischen neuen Staaten durch Zergrenzung und Abschnürung von wirklicher überseeischer Atemweite in einer Richtung wenigstens unter verwandte Bedingungen mit der deutschen Erde gestellt waren und den latenten russischen Druck dennoch fortempfinden mußten, daß hier also in Wahrheit das Beispiel

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Deutschlands wie Italiens verführerischer war als die gegensätzlichen Lehren der Westvölker.

Mehr und mehr verbreitet sich auch hier, ganz abgesehen von den bewußteren Bewegungen im Nordosten, in Finnland, Lettland und Polen, das Gefühl, daß der alte Westen Europas zwar mit immer noch starkem und schwerem eisernen und goldenen Rüstzeug, aber auf verlorenem Posten kämpfe.

Dafür können wir, soweit es sich nicht um Spiegelungen oder Resterbewegungen des Geschehens in Deutschland handelt, wie bei Rosley, dem Urteil Zimmermann-Frieds zustimmen: „Diese Völker sind zu alt, als daß aus ihnen selbst, aus der Kraft ihres Volkes noch eine urständige Eigenbewegung wachsen könnte . . .". Vor allem aber haben sie, wie auch die Niederlande und Belgien, zu viel zu verlieren, wenn sich die von ihnen so mißbrauchte Idee des Selbstbestimmungsrechts nicht nur der kleinen, sondern auch der großen Völker mit der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung gleichschalten sollte. Und an dieser Stelle mündet eine weltumspannende Betrachtung der Ausstrahlungsmöglichkeiten des Nationalsozialismus zwangsläufig in die zwischen seinen westlichen Herden nördlich und südlich der Alpen und seinem östlichen Herde bald hoch aufflammende, bald düster glostende asiatische Freiheitsbewegung mit ihrer unscheidbaren Verbindung nationaler und sozialer Aufbruchsmotive — freilich in verschiedenster Schattierung, und von außen her, von alten und neuen Kolonialmächten, vom eurasiatischen Block der Sowjets aus, wie von den pazifischen Randländern her mit entgegengesetzten außenpolitischen Zielen beeinflußt. Ein Glück der bisherigen Herren dieser in Bewegung geratenen Massen ist nur, daß der Rassengedanke in Asien nur an einer einzigen Stelle vollbewußt ausgewertet wird: von Japan aus.

Am wenigsten wirkliches, staatsgestaltendes Leben hat der Rassengedanke bisher unter den gewaltigen Menschenmassen Südostasiens, der Gesamtheit der Monsunländer (Vorderindien, Hinterindien, Indonesien, China, Japan), in Jung-China — (so rassenstark das alte war) —, weshalb denn auch die einzigen bösartigen Angriffe gegen das Deutschland des Nationalsozialismus aus diesem Teile der Welt kommen. Die Malaienwelt ist für die Verbindung des Rassengedankens mit dem Nationalsozialismus hellhöriger, weil sie längst, seit 1905 mindestens, in Japan den ersten durchgedrungenen großen Vetter sieht und sich

über die Verwandtschaft der südostasiatischen Inselrassen klar ist, auch die stolze Erinnerung an die nur der normannischen ähnliche Seeraumbewältigung der Malaio-Polynesier nicht vergessen hat, „die mit kleinsten Zahlen unglaublich große Räume bewältigten" (Ratzel).

Auch Indien ist vielleicht gerade infolge seiner viertausendjährigen Verwüstung und politischen Zerfahrenheit durch beständige Rassenkämpfe, die sich so oft mit religiösen verknüpften und auch dem Kastengegensatz zugrunde liegen, für ein Beispiel einheitlichen nationalsozialistischen Rassenwillens empfänglicher, als das bisher in der Einschmelzung volksfremder Bestandteile eine so ungeheure Rassenkraft beweisende China. Hier liegen noch fast unerschöpfliche Arbeitsziele und in Jahrtausenden erprobter Beweisstoff für die Gedankenwelt und Forschung des Nationalsozialismus griffbereit. Mit so einfachen Formungen wie etwa: „in Asien ist es die Masse, in Amerika ein einzelner, der Präsident, und in Süd- und Mittelamerika ist es die Mittelschicht der Studenten und Professoren, die als Träger der Bewegung in Betracht kommen", wird man nicht durchdringen. Auch in den „Massen" sind es Einzelne, wie Sun Yat Sen, wie Rizal und Aguinaldo, selbst Taraknath Das und Gandhi, die gestalten. Ob die „amerikanische Bewegung" „von oben geführt wird, in voller Klarheit und Bewußtheit dessen, was man erreichen will", ob die im ersten Wahljahr immer machtvolle Stellung des U.S.A.-Präsidenten die nationalsozialistische Revolution weiter kommandieren kann, wie er sie begonnen hat, kann erst das zweite Jahr seiner Präsidentschaft erweisen, vielleicht gerade der Schulfall Kuba. Denn die U.S.A. haben doch Kuba, wie so vielen andern Landschaften, die Monokulturen aufgedrängt, und es muß sich in naher Zeit zeigen, ob sie um der Idee willen darauf verzichten. Hier aber berühren wir eine Scheidelinie, die wir aus geopolitischen Gründen schärfer sehen und ziehen müssen, als Zimmermann-Fried sie in seinen anregungsreichen Aufsätzen namentlich zwischen dem „amerikanischen Raum" und der „asiatischen Freiheitsbewegung", aber auch dem „alten Westen" und dem „jungen Osten" zieht, zwischen denen gewiß dem nationalsozialistischen Deutschland eine Schiedsaufgabe größten, nicht nur politischen, sondern auch kultur-morphologischen Stiles zukommt, die schon Frobenius mit seinem Kulturen-Kampfplatz am Rhein gezeichnet hat. Es ist die Scheidelinie zwischen Altkultur-Völkern und jungen Kolonial-Kulturen, soweit man nicht

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überhaupt auf sie besser das Wort Kolonial-Zivilisationen oder Kulturableger anwenden möchte.

Dabei scheint uns eine große, grundsätzliche Erfahrung aufzuleuchten, die nämlich, daß die Vollreife von Kulturvölkern für die ganze Größe des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens erst gegeben scheint, wenn sie eine Reichsverkörperung, ein Hochkultur-Erlebnis, vielleicht auch mindestens eine Periode der Wirtschaftsblüte, womöglich einen Pendelschlag zwischen Autarkie und Monokultur hinter sich haben, durch das Glück und Leid einer wenigstens einmaligen vollen Leistung als Völkerpersönlichkeit hindurchgegangen sind, Sieg und Niederlage in höchster dramatischer Bedeutung erlebt haben. Wie weit ein solches Erlebnis des Mutterlandes für den Ableger auf Kolonialboden genügt, das steht noch zur weltgeschichtlichen Entscheidung. Durcherlebt, durchgekämpft ist es noch nicht, es sei denn, daß wir den Mikrokosmus etwa Großgriechenlands als solches Erlebnis gelten lassen, das aber schwer als völkerpsychologischer Reinversuch herauszuschälen ist.

So möchten wir den amerikanischen Raum und die Südkontinente, nicht nur Südamerika, sondern auch Afrika und Australien aus der unmittelbaren Strahlungsgeographie des Nationalsozialismus in den Bereich einer gesonderten Untersuchung über Nationalsozialismus und Kolonialländer ausschalten, vor allem auch deshalb, weil sie in verhängnisvoller Weise die Krankheiten der Verstädterung, des Urbanismus und seiner Folgen mit in die neuen, jungfräulichen Böden und Raumweiten übernommen haben, also soziale Erkrankungen mit der nationalen Ausdehnung verschleppten.

IV.

Nationalsozialismus und Kolonialländer

Als Kolonialländer werden wir im geopolitischen Sinne nicht nur die sämtlichen weißen Dominien des Britischen Reiches, die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und die Neue Welt lateinamerikanischer Zugehörigkeit ansehen dürfen, sondern auch das französische Afrika (nicht Ozeanien und Indochina), auch das asiatische Rußland und das belgische und niederländische Kolonialreich wie das portugiesische, woran ja in den letzten drei Fällen die sogenannten Mutterländer nur wie kleine Saugköpfe hängen.

Diesen weiten Räumen gegenüber ist für die Frage ihrer Aufnahmefähigkeit oder Unbereitschaft für das Weitergreifen des Nationalsozialismus um die Welt in zwei Richtungen eine einheitliche Betrachtung und Prognose möglich. Einmal teilen sie alle den Grundzug der Untersiedelung, unzulänglicher Volkszahlen gegenüber weiten unbewältigten, wenn auch formalrechtlich beanspruchten Räumen. Überschlägliche Zählungen geben uns Ziffern von 7, 9, 12, 15, 16 bis höchstens 25 Menschen auf den Quadratkilometer als Volksdruck an, Ziffern, die für Australien und weite, fruchtbare Gebiete Sibiriens unter 1 herabsinken. Dennoch verschleppen die verstädterten Menschen der Mutterländer ihre schlimmste volkspolitische Erkrankungsform, die Landflucht, Siedelungsballung, Verstädterung auch in diese weiten Räume, so daß wir Australien, Kalifornien über die Hälfte, ja selbst die pazifischen Landschaften der Sowjets bis zu 35% verstädtert sehen. Dagegen erreichen dichtbevölkerte Altkulturländer wie Indien nur 10—11%, China nur gegen 20—25% Verstädterungsgrad. Selbst das unter Volksdruck stöhnende Japan hat bei etwa 53% der Bevölkerung in städtischen Siedelungen gegen 47% reine Landbewohner noch etwa 57% erdverbundene, landlebige Bevölkerung, weil mindestens 10% der Stadtbewohner noch bodenverwurzelt sind. Aus diesen Vergleichswerten geht hervor, daß für eine nationalsozialistische Zusammenfügung der Bevölkerung in so labilem kolonialen Siedelungsgefüge wesentliche Voraussetzungen fehlen: die Zusammenschließbarkeit und eine einheitliche Lebensraumauffassung, die wir in Deutschland, Italien, Japan als Grundwerte ihrer Wendung zum Nationalsozialismus erkannten. Die soziale Spaltbarkeit aber, der Gegensatz grüner und roter Fronten zum Beispiel, ist trotz dem Raumüberfluß in Australien, Südafrika, aber auch Nordamerika gegeben.

Damit aber stehen wir vor einer geopolitischen Einsicht, die uns über der Herzensfreude an der diktatorischen Wendung in U.S.A. zu wenig berücksichtigt zu werden scheint: daß wir den immer noch für den größten Teil der acht untereinander hadernden Wirtschaftsgebiete der U.S.A. geltenden Kolonialcharakter des Volkskörpers und der Lebensform nicht übersehen dürfen, wenn wir uns mit Zimmermann-Fried „an der nordamerikanischen Wandlung zum Nationalsozialismus" freuen, und viele dabei den gewichtigen Nachsatz übersehen, „wie sehr es nur auf die Haltung und das Ziel der Bewegung an-

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kommt, und wie sich gerade in der geistigen Begründung und in den Methoden die großen nationalen Unterschiede entwickeln". Gewiß sind „die untergründigen geistigen Zusammenhänge mit dem deutschen Nationalsozialismus in den U.S.A. stark". Aber trotzdem stehen sich grundverschiedene Raumauffassungen verständnislos gegenüber. U.S.A. kennt zwar den weit zurückliegenden Schreck eines großen Bürgerkriegs mit der Trennungsmöglichkeit aus Anlaß verschiedener Einstellung zu einer Rassen-(Neger-)Frage. Aber es hat doch z. B. [illegible] damals und aus Anlaß des Weltkriegs seinen Rassenkörper überhaupt aufgenommen, erschrak mit Recht, als ihm die zweite Aufnahme ein Abgleiten vom nordischen Rassenideal nachwies, reagierte durch die Bestrebungen von Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard und die Einwanderungsgesetze. Es verkennt völlig die zusammenschweißende Macht einer großen Niederlage, eines weltpolitischen Rückschlags, den es bisher nie erfuhr, so wenig wie Kanada, Australien, Neuseeland und — gegenüber einer Farbigenfrage — Südafrika.

Keines dieser Kolonialländer hat einen so furchtbaren Raumverlust erlebt wie etwa Deutschland, als ihm allein über See fast drei Millionen Quadratkilometer mit nur etwa 11 Millionen Menschen, also ein unvergleichliches Sicherheitsventil geraubt wurde, das es in vier Jahrzehnten erarbeitet hatte, deren Ertrag eben im Augenblick des Raubes vor hohen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten stand.

Im völligen Unverständnis eines solchen Erlebnisses unterscheiden sich die U.S.A. in nichts von den übrigen Kolonialländern. Und darin werden wir Dr. Johannes Stoye* unbedingt zustimmen, wenn er sagt: „Rassebiologisch sind die Amerikaner als ein höchst primitives Volk anzusprechen." Nicht nur rassebiologisch — und sie stehen darin dicht neben den britischen „Colonials", den Insassen der großen pazifischen Dominien, während allerdings Südafrika einen schweren Konflikt innerhalb verwandter nordischer Herrenrassen hinter sich hat und das Unbehagen des Mißverhältnisses von $1^1/_2$ Millionen weißer Herren zu mehr als 8 Millionen Schwarzen mit viel höherer Vitalität in steigendem Maße fühlt.

Hier also sind Übergangsverhältnisse zu der mittel- und südamerikanischen Welt gegeben, innerhalb deren, mit Ausnahme von Argen-

*) Reclams Universum, H. 45/33, S. 1667/1683, „Nationalsozialismus in Amerika?"

tinien und Chile, die Frage des farbigen Blutes doch wohl alle andern überwiegt, während daneben das labile Übergewicht der Großstädte Buenos Aires und Montevideo in den beiden Laplata-Staaten, von Rio in Brasilien und die dortige Nord-Südspannung zurücktritt; trotz aller von Zimmermann-Fried betonten Leidenschaft der Allianza Unionista, die schwerlich die seinerzeitige Einigungsleidenschaft Bolivars übertrifft, trotz aller wirtschaftlichen Ablehnung des Kapitalismus wie des Kommunismus. Dabei darf man nicht vergessen, daß Peru und Chile ja schon einmal das Musterbeispiel eines hiero-despotisch zusammengeschlossenen Kommunismus mit großen Kulturleistungen der Welt gegeben haben und das Quichuablut in Bolivia und Peru zum mindesten heute noch überwiegt.

Aber das Leitproblem für die Kolonialländer und ihre Einstellung zum Nationalsozialismus wird in den Vereinigten Staaten vorgeformt. Ganz gewiß mußten also die sämtlichen übrigen Teilnehmer an der Tagung der pazifischen Mächte von dem den U.S.A. so naheliegenden Beobachtungsposten Banff im September 1933 mit tiefen Eindrücken heimkehren, einschließlich der ostasiatischen, unter denen Nitobe ja den Krieg zwischen Japan und den Sowjets als unvermeidlich an die Wand gemalt hat, der die erste große kriegerische Weltauseinandersetzung zwischen Nationalsozialismus und russisch-national verbrämtem Marxismus wäre; ein Abringen, des Zuschauens wie des Anteils wert, an dem uns nur die vorherige Ankündigung durch eine Macht befremdet, die sonst ihre Tigersprünge nicht anzukündigen pflegt. Werden sich die U.S.A. dabei beruhigen oder erst recht um die Wette mit Briten und Japanern ihre Schiffe, zunächst innerhalb der Lizenz von Washington-London, weiterbauen und ihr pazifisches Pulver trocken halten?

Sicher wird eine eurasiatische wie eine transpazifische Wendung des fernöstlichen Inselreichs auch die U.S.-amerikanische Wendung zum Nationalsozialismus beschleunigend oder hemmend, jedenfalls aktivierend beeinflussen. Wenden wir uns deshalb zu ihren Aussichten, als zum Prototyp der Aussichten des Nationalsozialismus im Kolonialland überhaupt, zurück, wenn wir auch in Australien mit seiner unbestreitbaren Arbeiterherrschaft und ihren gefährlichen Folgen vielleicht bedeutsamere negative Auskünfte fänden. In Australien aber wird ohne eine außenpolitische Katastrophe, dann wahrscheinlich ge-

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samtpazifischer Natur, der marxistische Egoismus der hohen Lebenshaltung in menschenhungrigem Land, das typische Kolonialaster, nicht überwindbar sein.

Aber vielleicht ist es Roosevelt in den Vereinigten Staaten möglich. Mit dieser Frage beschäftigt Roosevelt sich selbst in seinem Bekenntnisbuch „Looking forward", und eine Quintessenz seiner Ausgangslage dabei zeichnet Johannes Stoye in einem aufschlußreichen, nur eben geopolitisch zu untermauernden Aufsatz. Zu dieser Untermauerung gehört die von besten Kennern so oft betonte, sehr anschauliche Kennzeichnung aller Kolonialkulturen als zweidimensional, das heißt, daß sie — entsprechend ihrem Raumausfüllungsbestreben — mehr ins Breite, in die Länge und Breite, als in die Tiefe und Vertiefung streben; daher auch ihr Wunsch, überall — mehr äußerlich als verinnerlicht — das in der Schau-Ausdehnung Größte, „the biggest" an Autostraßen, Brücken, Wolkenkratzern haben zu wollen.

Das muß selbstverständlich ihrem Verhalten gegenüber einer so sehr aus der Tiefe des Verhältnisses von Volk und Boden, des Rassenbewußtseins, des Reichserlebnisses in Leid und Freud quellenden Bewegung wie der nationalsozialistischen eine ganz bestimmte Grundnote geben. Alle Kolonialländer haben kraft ihres Verhältnisses zur schnellen dynamischen Bewältigung weiter Räume allerdings die Gabe, einmal angeschlagene Bewegungen in ihrer Ansatzrichtung durch weite Räume durchzuführen, selbst durchzustoßen, in Kontinenten zu denken — weniger aber sie zu vertiefen oder von selbst auf sie zu kommen, sie aus der Tiefe zu heben. Sie bedürfen dazu diktatorialer Anregung und Führung. Auf dieser Linie der Konquista, der Bolivar, der Westward-ho-Leute, Monroes, Cecil Rhodes bewegt sich auch Roosevelt, wie vor ihm sein Vetter, der den U.S.A. das Gesicht pazifikwärts drehte.

Jedenfalls ist Franklin D. Roosevelt die Verkörperung der mit seiner Partei zum Sieg gelangten Rückschlagserscheinung gegen das System optimistischen Gewährenlassens des Kampfes aller gegen alle, das eben nur so lange ohne schwere Schäden erträglich war, als die kolonniale „prosperity" durch unbegrenzte Reserven an Land und Bodenschätzen und deren Raubbaunutzung gewährleistet blieb, solange immer neue Binnenwanderungen möglich waren. Das mußte enden, sobald die Notwendigkeit der Vertiefung im Boden, des Verwurzelns auch nur in Sicht kam, also eigentlich mit der Krise des Übergangs

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vom Kolonialkultur- und -wirtschaftsbegriff zur Vollverantwortlichkeit für einen begrenzten Raum, der nun auf einmal nicht mehr das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten, und damit notwendig ein Friedenstörer für alle andern Völker mit begrenzten Möglichkeiten war.

In seiner Amtsantrittsrede vom 4. März 1933 hat Roosevelt eine Fülle nationalsozialistischer Gedanken geäußert, dem extremen Wirtschafts-Liberalismus und einem übertriebenen Freiheitsideal abgesagt, das eigentlich nur Raubfreiheit für den wirtschaftlich Starken oder Unbedenklichen proklamierte. Das von Max Weber so scharf herausgearbeitete kapitalistische Erwerbsethos des 1620 nach Amerika übersiedelten Puritanismus, mit seinem harten, letzten Ziel des persönlichen Gewinnstrebens um jeden Preis, ist so zum erstenmal von der höchsten Wahlstelle der U.S.A. aus rücksichtslos bloßgestellt worden. Gerade dieser Präsident hat in einem Grad diktatorische Vollmachten, wie sie nur auf kolonialem Boden so schrankenlos denkbar sind (vgl. Argentinien, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, Peru u. a.), darunter solche von höchst segensreicher Wirkung und längst von allen Wohlmeinenden erkannter Notwendigkeit, wie die Wiederaufforstung des im Raubbau furchtbar verheerten Waldbodens durch ein Staatsaufgebot von 275 000 Mann, die Gewähr, aber auch Kontrolle des Bankwesens durch den Staat, das freie Spiel mit der geraume Zeit so heiligen Dollar-Goldwährung, Verfügung über öffentliche Bauten bis zu rund 12 Milliarden Goldmark und eine nachhaltige Landwirtschaftshilfe (der Preis für die Mitwirkung der Weizenstaaten).

Führt diese Vollmacht wirklich eine grundsätzliche Wandlung des Wirtschaftsdenkens in U.S.A. herbei, wird man in Zukunft weniger an den Erzeuger, wie bisher ausschließlich, und mehr an den Verbraucher planend denken, so vollzieht sich damit nicht nur ein transpazifischer Ausgleich, eine Annäherung an das ostasiatische Wirtschaftsdenken und seine Ethik, die von jeher von der Nachfrage her bestimmt war und danach das Angebot zu regeln, die Warenaufdrängung aber abzuwehren strebte (Tsur über das Wirtschaftsleben von Ningpo). Auch Kanada wie Australien, immer sehr stark vom Wirtschaftsbeispiel der Union abhängig, könnten sich diesem Vorbild gar nicht entziehen, selbst wenn sie wollten. Freilich sind Kanada und Australien entgegengesetzte Exponenten für aus Europa verpflanzte Wirtschaftslehren: Kanada vielleicht der stärkste Vertreter des „laisser

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faire, laisser aller" innerhalb der Dominien; Australien, einst als „sozialer Erdteil" gepriesen (Manes), der stärkste Pfeiler rücksichtsloser verstädterter Arbeiterherrschaft (Gattineau) mit Hochlöhnen, Landflucht und unentwickelten, zu fremder Gewalt oder Einströmung einladenden Böden.

Vielleicht schwindet unter dem Einfluß einer Annäherung zwischen dem Wirtschaftsdenken U.S.-Amerikas und Deutschlands auch etwas von dem giftigen Haß und Neid, mit dem Australien bisher jeden Versuch Deutschlands, wieder hochzukommen, seit dem Raub der deutschen Südsee verfolgt, dessen wütender, schadenfroher Ausbruch 1914 selbst britische Zeugen überraschte. Gedanken wie die Verlegung von Industrien (in Deutschland in den ländlichen Osten, in Amerika in den weiträumigen ländlichen Westen), die Krisensicherung des Arbeiters durch Verwachsenheit mit der Scholle, die auch Roosevelt vertritt, sind jedenfalls ein schroffer Gegensatz zu dem kolonialen Zug des Durchschnitts-Amerikaners, unter Hinterlassung von Wellblechtrümmern, rostigem Stacheldraht und Konservenbüchsenhaufen auch von der „Farm" wieder abzutriften und den „job" durch alle gesellschaftlichen Möglichkeiten durchzuwechseln. Amerika also wird noch viel zu lernen haben, bis es einem aus der Volksseelenstimmung heraus entstandenen Satz gerecht werden kann, wie: „Auf die Dauer sind Staat und nationale Planung wesentlich für das zukünftige Wohlergehen, Glück und Dasein des amerikanischen Volkes." Aber wenn die zwei riesigen Reserveräume der weißen Rasse, der eurasiatische und der nordamerikanische, diese Weisheit gelernt haben werden, dann erst werden ihre bisher unbegrenzt weiträumig denkenden Staatsmänner nicht mehr die Gefahr für die Mitte Europas sein, die sie bisher waren: der eine als unterbietender, zerstörender Raumkoloß, der andere als rücksichtslos sich abschließender, aber andre überflutender Wirtschaftsgigant.

V.

Gleichschaltung von Nationalsozialismus und Selbstbestimmungsrecht?

Gerade das Umsichgreifen von Raumkolossen und Wirtschaftsgiganten, wie das Reich der Sowjetbünde, als Nachfahr des weißen Zarentums, und die Vereinigten Staaten, als Erben britischer Kolonial-

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überlieferung, des Umfassens und Übergreifens, so weit die wirtschaftspolitischen Fangarme reichten (der Anaconda-Pläne), ist eine Weltgefahr. Es legt für die engräumigen, volkreichen und wirtschaftlich hochgetürmten, kulturpolitisch tiefverwurzelten Träger der Gedankenwelt des Nationalsozialismus unter den großen und kleinen Mächten den Gedanken der Verbündung mit dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht nahe — zu gemeinsamem Schutz gegen Weltrevolutions- und Dollarpolitik.

Der Gedanke liegt so nahe, daß Hitler aus dem Bewußtsein des eigenen Leides verletzten Lebensraums heraus in seiner großen Reichstagsrede der Anerkennung benachbarter Nationalismen einen ergreifenden und weithin verstandenen Ausdruck gab. Aber ein solcher Ausdruck verpflichtet! Wie sieht es nun in der nüchternen Wirklichkeit, wo die Gedanken nicht eng beieinander wohnen, sondern die Sachen hart aneinanderstoßen? Gibt es eine Möglichkeit, die so stark wachgerufene Idee des Selbstbestimmungsrechts zugunsten der nationalsozialistischen Gedankenträger mit ihrem Recht auf ausreichende Atemweite und alles von ihrer Rasse erst hochentwickelte Land irgendwie zu verbünden, womöglich gleichzuschalten, so, daß die Majestät des verletzten Selbstbestimmungsrechtes zugleich die Herde und die umstrittenen Grenzen des in sich rassen- und volksverbundenen totalen Staats mit nationalsozialistischer Kultur, Macht und Wirtschaft verteidigt?

Besteht diese Möglichkeit, läßt sie sich siegreich einem Weltvorurteil innerhalb freilich schon schwindender Mehrheiten entgegenhalten, so würde damit offenbar der Sache nationalsozialistischer Mächte eine wertvolle Hilfe erwachsen. Diese Hilfe würde selbsttätig, namentlich soweit Mächte hinter ihre natürlichen Grenzen zurückgeschnitten sind — unter Verletzung des Selbstbestimmungsrechts ansehnlicher Volksteile, wie etwa der 3½ Millionen Sudetendeutschen, der Bewohner der Bromberger Furche, der Landschaft Eupen-Malmedy, der abgetrennten volksdeutschen Gebiete des Südostens. Sie verriete allerdings zugleich, warum es gerade die Kolonialmächte alten Stiles sind, die sich mit ihrer Gefolgschaft so hartnäckig dem Nationalsozialismus entgegenstellen: sie vertragen das Selbstbestimmungsrecht zuletzt!

Diese Erkenntnis ist seit dem frivolen Spiel, das „die alliierten und assoziierten Mächte" mit dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der kleinen Völker am Kriegsende getrieben hatten, so tief in die Massen der West-

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mächte gedrungen, daß die „Times" einmal schrieben: das ganze Nachkriegsungemach des britischen Weltreichs komme nur von diesem unglücklichen Selbstbestimmungsrecht, das man nicht schnell genug in Vergessenheit bringen könne. Die französische Kolonial- und Machtpresse schloß sich aus voller Überzeugung an.

Von dort aus aber kann immer wieder gerade Rassenstaaten gegen[über] eine der bedenklichsten Lügen der Vorkriegszeit ausgegraben werden: die von der Gemeinhaftung, der Solidarität der weißen Rasse, die völlig schlief, als man die Deutschen aus ihren einstigen Kolonien, aus China und anderen Erdteilen in schimpflichsten Formen wegverschleppte, um durchaus eigensüchtigen Zielen weißer Mächte zum Schaden ihrer Rassenverwandten zu dienen.

Gewiß wird man sich leicht über gewisse tiefere Ebenen menschlicher Rassenentwicklung einigen können, die noch der Leitung und Führung, dann aber durch alle anerkannten Hochkulturrassen bedürfen. Aber in sehr schwierige Dickichte führt der Übergang von diesen Ebenen zu den höchsten gleichberechtigten Spitzen einer Hochkulturleistung bei farbigen Rassen. Der reine Arierbegriff läßt hier insofern im Stich, als die Abstufungen der unzweifelhaft als Arier vollberechtigten höheren Schichten der zwei indischen Arier-Überflutungen — trotz dem Versuch, sie durch die Kasteneinteilung zu schützen — in Wahrheit unzählige Übergänge zu den dunklen Rassen Indiens bereits mitenthalten, und das Fortschreiten des dunklen Blutanteils in Indien biologisch unbestreitbar ist. Und vor allem: wie steht es mit den Chinesen, Japanern und anderen Malaio-Mongolen, die — in sich geschlossen — aus ähnlichen Rassenmischungen, wie sie etwa in Eng[land] aus den Frühbewohnern: Kelten, Angelsachsen, Dänen, Nor[mannen], stattfanden, hohe, sich selbst bestimmende Kulturen, Machtgebäude, Wirtschaften, teils autarkisch (in einem Grad, wie es in Europa nie möglich war), teils übergreifend in Riesenräume aufgebaut haben? Werden wir ihnen das Selbstbestimmungsrecht verweigern dürfen, das wir selbst als Besiegte in Anspruch nehmen?

Kolonialmächte alten Stiles — je mehr ihnen selbst der alte Herrschaftswille entgleitet (lost dominion!), desto mehr — haben selbstverständlich Interesse daran, die kräftige, verjüngende Bewegung des Nationalsozialismus als Wasser auf ihre Mühlen zu leiten, und vermögen das, indem sie die von ihnen unterworfenen und ausgebeuteten

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alten Kulturrassen, wie in Indien, Indochina, Indonesien, auch bei den Anläufen auf Persien und Äthiopien, als minderwertig im Sinne des Nationalsozialismus bezeichnen. Das geschieht aus ähnlichen Gründen, aus denen auch der Paneuropa-Gedanke wenigstens für französischen, niederländischen, belgischen, spanischen und portugiesischen Kolonialbesitz die beraubten Mitteleuropäer mit zur Verteidigung einsetzen möchte. Aus ähnlichen Gründen sind auch von den „Times" in ihrer Wiedergabe von Auszügen aus Hitlers „Mein Kampf" Äußerungen über Indien aus ihrem Zusammenhang gerissen worden.

Bei allen solchen Versuchen fühlen die Kolonialmächte alten Stils den inneren Bruch zwischen ihrer gegen die nationalsozialistische Gedankenwelt so leidenschaftlich verteidigten, beim Kolonialprinzip notwendig bloßgestellten Anbetung der Demokratie und der Notwendigkeit, weltumspannende Machtbauten durch Autorität zusammenzuhalten.

Dieser Bruch klafft am deutlichsten, wenn man etwa den Gegensatz zwischen Worten und Taten Macdonalds in seinem Verhältnis zu Indien betrachtet, oder die Spannung zwischen Werken wie „The lost dominion" von Carthill und der Gandhi-Propaganda des Kreises um Andrews. Er wird in der Rassenpolitik des stellenweise vernegernden Frankreich mit größerem Geschick verschleiert als bei den Angelsachsen, während Belgien und die Niederlande in der Mitte stehen. Aber wer aufmerksam etwa den vielbeachteten Aufsatz im „Temps" (am 13. August 1933) prüft: „Démocratie et autorité", dem tritt daraus das ganze innere Schwächegefühl des westeuropäischen Kolonialmachtprinzips gegenüber der Möglichkeit einer weltpolitischen Verbündung von Nationalsozialismus und Selbstbestimmungsrecht entgegen. Sätze wie, daß „Frankreich unter einem Autoritätsmangel leide, der aus einem gewissen Abschwächen der öffentlichen Macht hervorginge, untrennbar von einem fühlbaren Sinken des Staatsansehens" und viele andere Aussprüche des gedankenreichen Aufsatzes, die unmittelbar der Gedankenwelt des Nationalsozialismus entstammen, verraten doch, wie sehr man in Frankreich trotz der eben vollendeten Vermauerung der Ostgrenze, trotz dem riesigen Wehrapparat, das Aufkommen eines neuen Geistes spürt, dem man mit dem ganzen entgegengetürmten technischen Aufwand nicht gewachsen sein könnte.

In dem Aufsatz „Démocratie et autorité" wird auch mit der Hellsichtigkeit, die der französischen, seit vierhundert Jahren wissenschaft-

lich geschulten Außenpolitik zu eigen ist, erkannt, daß sich in Rußland, das dort den faschistischen Staatsformen beigezählt wird, Evolutionen vollziehen können, die das ganze Sechstel der Erde, das heute unter der höchst wandelbaren Sowjetherrschaft liegt, künftigen nationalsozialistischen Fronten einreihen können. Das wird um so mehr befürchtet, als in vielen seiner Teilgebiete das Selbstbestimmungsrecht über Kultur und selbst — bis zu einem gewissen Grade — über örtliche Macht anerkannt ist, nur das Ganze durch eiserne Wirtschaftsklammern zusammengehalten wird, wobei die marxistische Orthodoxie praktisch längst nach allen Richtungen durchlöchert ist.

Gerade für die rechtzeitige Ahnung oder Vorausschau der großen Machtverlagerungen, die aus dem elementaren Durchdringen des Selbstbestimmungsrechts beispielsweise auch aus großen kriegerischen Zusammenstößen rings um den Pazifischen Ozean hervorgehen können, wird es einer Ausdehnung der rassenkundlichen Forschung (etwa auf den von Walter Scheidt gezeigten Grundlagen) auf erdumspannende Betrachtungsweite bedürfen, um nicht der viel größeren praktischen Erfahrung der wachgerüttelten Westmächte gegenüber nie wiederkehrende Chancen einzubüßen. Man erinnere sich nur, welche Vorteile England aus seinem ersten Bündnis mit einer rassenfremden, farbigen, werdenden Großmacht (Japan) gezogen hat, wie viel wir verloren, als wir die gleiche Möglichkeit vertaten. Eine Heranziehung aller Fremdvölker-Kenntnis in Mitteleuropa auf diesem Felde ist um so wichtiger, als wir noch lange mit dem stärksten Widerstand gegen die Verbreitung des Nationalsozialismus gerade bei den europäischen Westmächten rechnen müssen, aus letzten Gründen ihres Anteils an der Aufrechterhaltung eines der nationalen überlegenen Welthandels- und Wirtschaftsentwicklung oder wenigstens einer imperialen heraus.

VI.

Die Illusion des Welthandels und der britische Freihandelsgedanke im Gegensatz zum nationalen Sozialismus und seinem Autarkiestreben

Grundsätzliche hartnäckige Gegnerschaften müssen von ihren letzten, doch immer geopolitisch bedingten Ursachen her erkannt werden, wenn man sich nicht gerade gegenüber weltpolitisch aufs höchste durchge-

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schulten Völkern wie Staatsmännern immer wieder in lebensgefährliche Illusionen verlieren will. Zu den natürlichen Gegnern des nationalen Sozialismus in jeder Form und des nie ganz von ihm zu trennenden Autarkiestrebens gehören Führer und Massen der europäischen Westmächte, nachdem sie einmal die von Ludwig XIV. über Trafalgar bis Faschoda zwischen ihnen geführte erbitterte Fehde mit weitgehenden beiderseitigen Kapitulationen zum Schaden Mitteleuropas eingesargt hatten.

So sehr bei diesem Vernichtungskampf gegen die Mitte des eigenen Erdteils in der Zusammenballung der kontinentalen Teile und europäischen Randländer Frankreich führend war, so sehr war es England über See. Es bediente sich dabei — selber wahrscheinlich ebenso gutgläubig wie auch sonst, wenn es sich mit jenem blauen Dunst verhüllte, den man in England selber „cant" nennt — zweier Illusionen, von denen es selbst sich jederzeit im britischen Interesse abzuweichen vorbehielt: der Illusion des Welthandels, der in Wirklichkeit als solcher nur funktionierte, solange er den leitenden Gewinn nach London lieferte, und des Freihandelsgedankens, von dem es gleichfalls abging, sobald es das Interesse des Imperiums und seiner Dominien verlangte.

Gleichzeitig ging eine, seit Hugo Grotius aus dem Völkerrecht nicht mehr verschwindende, gewagte Gaukelei vor sich zwischen der, namentlich von der transatlantischen Tochter geforderten „Freiheit der Meere" und dem praktischen Versuch, dieses freie Meer zu binden, teils von der Küstengewässerfrage her, teils aber auch durch die brutale Gewalt einer überlegenen Seemacht in Fesseln zu schlagen, die sich gegebenenfalls nur für die britische Flagge öffnen sollten. Wenn die Vereinigten Staaten zuletzt mit dem Begriff der Territorialgewässer ein so überlegenes Spiel trieben, daß sie die Fahrt Manila—Pudget-sund—Panama—New York als „U.S.-amerikanische Küstenschiffahrt" erklärten, so führten sie damit nur den cant des Mutterlandes ad absurdum, wie Japan in der Mandschurei Frankreichs Sicherheitsprinzip.

Wir haben den Welthandel eine Illusion genannt, wie der Begriff des freien Meeres gegenüber dem geschlossenen oder verschlossenen Meeresraum des mare clausum eine Illusion des Völkerrechts ist, solange die Versuchung für seemächtige Völker besteht, ihre Flotten, die sie mit Vorliebe die Polizeistöcke, die „police batons" des Friedens nannten, selbstsüchtig gegen unbequem werdenden Wettbewerb zu verwenden. Man bedient sich heutzutage etwas anderer Mittel als jene kartha-

gischen und römischen Kapitäne, die einander in Grund und Boden rannten, auch wenn sie sich in sogenannten Friedenszeiten auf unerwünschten Wasserpfaden begegneten, oder belohnt wurden, wenn sie lieber das eigene Schiff auf Grund setzten, als einem fremden als Führer jenseits der Säulen des Herkules zu dienen. Aber die Gesinnung ist vorläufig die gleiche; und ein neues Weltverkehrsrecht wird von nationalen, einander gleichachtenden Wirtschaften erst von Grund aus aufzubauen sein, wenn sie einander ebenso sozial gleichwertig ansehen, wie innerhalb nationalsozialistischer Landeswirtschaften die Volksgenossen einander. Dazu ist der Weg noch weit. In Wahrheit darf man den Begriff des Welthandels ja erst auf die Weltumseglung von Magalhães 1520 zurückführen, die zum erstenmal den Erdkreis bezwang, aber fast gleichzeitig die Erklärung des neuerschlossenen Pazifischen Ozeans als geschlossenes Meer der Krone Spanien durch Balboa mit sich brachte, die auf etwa ein biblisches Menschenalter wirksam war. Dann durchbrachen die Briten von Drake bis Cook diesen Monopolanspruch, innerhalb dessen sich Franzosen und Niederländer als jüngere Teilhaber einschalteten: immer gewaltsamen Durchbruchs der Theorie des Freien Meeres gewärtig, die zwischen dem Kap der Guten Hoffnung, der Straße von Malakka und den ostasiatischen Meeren oft in einen Seeraub aller gegen alle ausartete. Blüht ja doch der Seeraub längs der Küste Ostasiens von der Insel Hainan bis zu den mandschurischen Strommündungen heute noch und ist im Kriegsfall weder durch Neun- noch Viermächte-Verträge, noch Kelloggpakt oder Genf auszuschließen, wie die Praxis erweist. Panama, Suez, Malakka, die Eingänge zur engeren japanischen Seewehrzone sind auf der Weltkarte besonders hervorgehobene Kontrollstellen für die Kraftbemessung der drei Hauptseemächte.

Was vollends dem Welthandel auf internationalen Landverkehrswegen begegnen würde, davon haben uns die Entwicklungen auf der sibirischen Magistrale in Eurasien, auf den in der Nähe des Chaco vorüberlaufenden Bahnen Südamerikas, auf den westchinesischen Karawanenstraßen in Szechuan, Yünnan, Sinkiang, Kansu einen zu lebendigen Anschauungsunterricht gegeben, als daß wir sie für sicherer halten sollten als die Seewege. Beim Abschluß des Weltkriegs haben wir noch erlebt, daß nur um ihrer schönen Bahnhofbauten willen, wie im Falle von Herbesthal, von Gmünd, von Ödenburg, Länder-

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fetzen abgerissen, Abdrängungen von Wasserstraßen, wie bei Rhein und Weichsel, lebenswichtige Eingriffe in die Eisenbahnnetze von Fremdmächten vorgenommen wurden.

Wenn man also dem nationalsozialistischen Gedanken vorwirft, daß er ein kunstvolles Adersystem des Welthandels abschnüre, so möge man zum Beispiel U.S.-Amerikaner bitten, sich die vor dem Aufleben des Nationalsozialismus verstümperten Verhältnisse der Donau, der Weichsel, des Rheins als Wasserstraße zu betrachten, oder sich zu fragen, was U.S.-Amerika erwidern würde, wenn man ihm Bedingungen für den Mississippi auferlegen wollte, wie sie die Elbe trägt, oder einen Korridor vom Oberen See nach New York unter Abtrennung der Neu-England-Staaten legen wollte. Das ist aber doch Deutschland widerfahren, bis es dazu kam, die Begriffe Welthandel und Weltwirtschaft als Illusion und Selbsttäuschung zu erkennen und jenseits beider vom Heimatgrund her wieder neu aufzubauen. Sehr mit Recht hat also eine große britische Zeitung die Väter der Pariser Vorortverträge die Väter des Aufbruchs Mitteleuropas zum Nationalsozialismus genannt.

Mit dem Zusammenbruch von Welthandel und Weltwirtschaft als einer für alle gleich offenen und zugänglichen Organisationsform der Erde sank aber natürlich auch der Glaube an die täuschenden Formen eines politischen Nachkriegsaufbaues der Erde mit Hilfe des Völkerbundes und ähnlicher Einrichtungen dahin. Und es muß nur überraschen, daß die großen Handelsmächte, denen sie hauptsächlich dienen sollten, glauben konnten, man werde diesen Glauben nur zu ihrem einseitigen Vorteil weiter gelten und am Leben lassen, sobald man erst die Täuschung erkannt haben würde.

So mußte also mit der willkürlichen Vergewaltigung des freien und gleichberechtigten, auf die Achtung des Privateigentums überall begründeten Welthandels notwendig auch ein Zusammenbruch der gesamten, auf ihn gegründeten oder abzielenden Ideologie erfolgen. Das Zurückfallen auf die Gedanken von Fichte, Hegel, F. List lag freilich dem deutschen Volk dabei noch näher als dem italienischen oder japanischen, weil man es noch viel rücksichtsloser, radikaler und unbekümmerter — neben den notwendigen Folgen der Schrumpfung und Abschnürung — aller, aber auch aller so mühsam erworbenen, so redlich mit Blut und Schweiß bezahlten Stützpunkte seines Außen-

handels beraubt hatte. Das lag freilich auf derselben Linie, auf der es, in Jahrhunderten planmäßigen Vorgehens gegen seinen Ozeananteil, seine Küsten von einer Meerberührung von über 5000 Kilometern auf eine solche von 3200, zuletzt wenig über 1000 heruntergeprellt werden sah. Das ist ein Vorgang, der sein Seitenstück fast nur in der Küstenberaubung Chinas von rund 17000 Kilometern auf 7100 hat, neben dem gleichzeitigen Wachstum des japanischen Reiches von einigen 27000 Kilometern auf über 45000 Kilometer. Ähnliche Entwicklungen vollzogen die beiden großen angelsächsischen Mächte, auch die Vereinigten Staaten in ihrem Übergreifen in das amerikanische Mittelmeer und in den Pazifischen Ozean, unter anderm durch das „american quadrilateral", das schräge Machtviereck quer über das größte Meer der Erde. Damit verbanden sie rauhe Übergriffe in fremde Kulturwelten hinein, wie in Samoa, in Hawaii, in Guam, auf den Philippinen, mit dem Unterton des Benützungsanspruches auf Singapore, der Befestigungshemmungen für die Außenposten Englands in Hongkong, Japans in seinen Außengewässern. Viel schroffer noch war freilich die Entwehrung der ganzen deutschen Wasserkante, ihre Durchbrechung in Schleswig, in der Danziger Bucht, am Memelstrom, wo ein Rückgrat der norddeutschen See- und Welthandelsgeltung zerschlagen wurde, wie Raubtiere Fröschen das Rückgrat zerbeißen, um sie freßreif und doch lebend zu erhalten. Noch schlimmer ist das Mißverhältnis Mitteleuropas beim Anteil an Luftverkehr und Luftwehr, wobei uns die Erfahrungen der Freiheitskämpfe von Bergvölkern in Kurdistan, Wasiristan, Tschitral zeigen, wie schnell sich das Welthandelswerkzeug in ein solches der nationalen und sozialen Unterdrückung verwandelt. Wen wundert es noch, daß die nationalsozialistischen Völker zuerst das Trugbild des Welthandels als Illusion erkannten und zunächst nur auf den eigenen Boden, als das einzig Sichere, vertrauen wollten?

VII.

Zusammenbruch der Weltwirtschaft und Rettungswege der Einzelräume

Der Zusammenbruch dessen, was man vor dem Weltkrieg Weltwirtschaft nannte, warf seinen Schatten schon voraus, als ihr damaliges Clearinghaus London von der Achtung vor dem Privateigentum,

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die es seit den Napoleonischen Kriegen und Trafalgar groß gemacht hatte, zum Raub des anvertrauten Privateigentums überging. Damit war gegen den Grundsatz seines Welttransportgeschäfts verstoßen, durch den sogenannten Welthandel, in Wahrheit einen britisch vorbeherrschten Warenaustausch, womöglich zwischen Monokulturgebieten Dauergewinn zu ziehen, um so mehr, als der Sitz der Austauschzentrale in seiner Munitions-, Rohstoff- und Zufuhrnot diese einst so sorgfältig industrierein gemachten Gebiete, namentlich in den Monsunländern, zur hastigen Überindustrialisierung aufpeitschte. Diese Lage wurde noch verschärft durch die Überindustrialisierung in den angegriffenen europäischen Zentralmächten und den als Helfer bei ihrem Niederringen einspringenden Vereinigten Staaten und Japan.

Aber begonnen wurde das Zerstören des leidlich arbeitenden weltwirtschaftlichen Gleichgewichts von den europäischen Westmächten aus. Daß die großen Rohstoffländer ihnen mit Vergnügen folgten und ihrerseits die Textilverarbeitungsanlagen neben die Baumwollgebiete, wie in den U.S.A. und Indien, die Seidenfabriken neben die Erzeugerlandschaften stellten, wie in Japan und China, war nur eine Folge. Die scheinbare Nachkriegshochkonjunktur mit einem Ersatzbedarf für die verpulverten und sonst überforderten Werte täuschte darüber hinweg, bis vom dritten Jahrzehnt an, zunächst in den tropischen Rohstoff-Preisstürzen, der Niederbruch der Weltwirtschaft offen vor aller Augen lag.

Statt großzügiger Gemeinschaftshilfe, die vergeblich von den versagenden Weltwirtschaftstagungen erhofft wurde, setzte ein allgemeines „Rette sich, wer kann" den Rest von weltumspannenden Organisationsmöglichkeiten und Kontingentierungen vollends aufs Spiel. Die sogenannten Wirtschaftsführer der Einzelräume hetzten die angststoll gewordene Herde, weiterhin durch Wettstürze der Währungen verschreckt, auf die einzelnen vermeintlichen Rettungswege auseinander, die naturgemäß in nationaler Konzentration, in weiteren Erhöhungen der Zollmauern und hermetischen Grenzabschließungen ausmünden mußten. Verstörung um Verstörung war so unvermeidlich, wie die Folgen von Blitzschlägen in Hammelherden.

Versuchte man wohl, namentlich in Vorkriegsanschauungen befangen, als Weltwirtschaft „die Gesamtheit der Wirtschaften der verschiedenen Völker" zu erklären, „insofern sie durch gegenseitigen,

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arbeitsteiligen Warenaustausch zu einem einheitlichen wirtschaftlichen Organismus verbunden seien", so zeigte doch gerade das Siechtum der Weltwirtschaft nach dem Kriege, daß ein solcher Organismus mit allseitigen gleichen Zutrittsberechtigungen nie bestanden hatte. Vollwertige Mitglieder dabei waren nur das britische Weltreich (Imperial Institute), in geringerer Intensität das schärfer abgeschlossene französische Wirtschaftsgebiet und, seit ihrem derben Zugriff in die Tropenwirtschaft, von 1898 an die Vereinigten Staaten gewesen. In beschränktem Maß, bei Zurückschraubung der Lebenshaltung, Verzicht auf viele Genußmittel der Tropen und dem Fügen in das lebenswichtigere Fehlen von Tropenrohstoffen, die für Kriegsgerät, Kraftwagen, Fliegerei, Tanks usw. unentbehrlich waren, konnte das in sich abschließbare Wirtschaftsreich der Russen und ihrer weißen und roten Zaren dafür gelten. Endlich einige kleinere Mächte, wie Belgien, die Niederlande, Portugal, die aber von den großen Seemächten abhingen, oder langgestreckte Lebensformen, wie Mexiko, Argentinien, Chile und — nach seinen Möglichkeiten! — das seine weiten Räume, vor allem seine tropische Urwaldzone Hylaea noch nicht bewältigende Brasilien und etwa noch China.

Die heute nationalsozialistischen, aufstrebenden Großmächte mit höchstem Volksdruck und vollzogener oder werdender Industrialisierung, wie Deutschland, Italien und Japan, waren teils, wie die letzteren, raffiniert von einer sich allseitig ergänzenden Wirtschaft ausgeschlossen und ferngehalten worden, teils hatten sie sich, wie Deutschland, eben gerade eine Art Versuchsfeld eröffnet, um sich als vollwertige, alles erzeugende Wirtschaftsgebiete in die Weltwirtschaft einfügen zu können.

Wie weit es allen dreien zu einer einigermaßen sich ergänzenden Wirtschaftsgliederung zwischen Rohstoffen, Halbfabrikaten und Veredelungserzeugnissen fehlte, machte Deutschland und Italien ihre Rohstoffversorgung und deren Mängel im Weltkrieg deutlich. Japan sah weitsichtig die Folgen aus den Erfahrungen der europäischen Mittelmächte und Italiens, die es sorgfältig studierte, und legte in einer Weltkrisenlähmung Hand auf die nötigsten Ergänzungsgebiete zu seiner autonomen nationalen Wirtschaft.

Die Verfügung über die Rohstoffe von Mandschukuo und die Abschließbarkeit des meerumspannenden Reiches um die Japansee erst

machen Japan von einem Einkreisungsdruck frei, wie er den deutschen Lebensraum trotz seiner rein wehrtechnischen Riesenleistung zuletzt auf die Knie zwang und Italien seiner freien politischen Verfügung angesichts seines furchtbaren Küstendruckes gegenüber einer vereinigten britischen und französischen Seemachteinwirkung und Blockadedrohung beraubte. Italien hatte diese Notlage in vielen Besprechungen mit Staatsmännern des einstigen Dreibundes zur Sprache gebracht. Es ist deren Schuld, daß sie die geopolitische Schwäche ihres ehemaligen Verbündeten nicht genug in Rechnung stellten, als sie sich in der Wahnidee wiegten, italienische Truppenteile könnten über die Alpen gefahren werden und im Elsaß kämpfen, wenn England mit seinen Mittelmeergeschwadern aktiv auf der andern Seite in Kampf trat. Hier waren wirtschaftspolitische Schwächen mächtiger als kulturpolitische Verbindungen und selbst größere machtpolitische Endertragsaussichten: ein Beweis dafür, daß weltwirtschaftliche Bindungen zwar gewiß überschätzt, aber auch unterschätzt werden können, wozu der absolute, totale Nationalsozialismus neigt.

Deutschland war von allen drei nationalsozialistischen Lebensformen mit seiner jäh wachsenden, verstädterten, hochindustrialisierten Bevölkerung, seinen Ausfuhr- und Einfuhrnotwendigkeiten zu ihrer Ernährung an der vorgelagerten Schranke Großbritannien vorbei und aus dem nassen Dreieck heraus, bei weitem in der schlimmsten Lage und ist es noch heute — obwohl die Pflege seiner Landwirtschaft die ärgsten Blockademöglichkeiten gemildert hat. Aussicht auf sichere Lebensmittelergänzung bietet sich wirtschaftlich für die Mitte Europas nur gegen Osten, und umgekehrt könnte nur die Mitte Europas (bei sorgfältiger gegenseitiger Abstimmung von Ein- und Ausfuhr) die unentbehrlichen Abnehmermassen für Zwischeneuropa stellen. So liegt für den Restistumpf des überseeisch oder transkontinental (wie die Sowjets) ergänzten Europa eine geopolitische Anomalie in der weltwirtschaftlich unsinnigen Machtspannung und kulturpolitischen Feindschaft Zwischeneuropas gegen das nationalsozialistische Deutschland, am meisten grotesk, wenn Österreich sich ihr zugesellt.

Soll also die Erzeuger- und Verbrauchermasse zwischen Westeuropa und den Sowjets jemals den Weg zu einem rechnenswerten Teilgebiet einer Weltwirtschaft zurückfinden, so bleibt ihr nichts anderes übrig als ein Teilzusammenschluß, dem das französische und nieder-

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ländische sowie belgische Kolonialreich bei redlichem Zutritt die unentbehrliche Tropenergänzung liefern könnten. Alle anderen Rettungswege der Einzelräume an dieser Stelle der Erde — und es sind die verschiedensten beschritten worden! — kehren ins Labyrinth der zusammengebrochenen Weltwirtschaft alten, unvollkommenen Stils, unter ihre stürzenden Trümmer zurück, deren einst zu freies Kräftespiel nicht mehr aufrechtzuhalten ist. Am wenigsten Aussicht bietet bildlich und buchstäblich der Versuch, die Zollmauern immer mehr zu erhöhen und — im freien Luftzug unhaltbare — Subventionsbetriebe zu errichten, wozu freilich die Kriegsstoffpanik ein naheliegender Anlaß war. Aber was bedeuten Zollmauern und Waffenschmieden, die für heutige Macht- und Wirtschaftsbegriffe winzige Kleinstaaten auf halbe und ganze Flugstunden voneinander errichten, wenn sie nicht, wie die Sowjets, auch heute noch halbwegs schützende Raumpuffer zwischen bestrittene Grenzen und Wehrzentralen legen können! Man nehme doch, auch wenn man weltwirtschaftlich rechnet, die Flugstrecken Balbos mit 1200 bis 2400 km in den Zirkel, erinnere sich, daß eine Junkers-Maschine die 6000 km Berlin—Urumchi in 48 Stunden flog, wenn man sich klarmachen will, in welchem Umkreis im nächsten Jahrzehnt Industriereviere, Wehrzentren und Sitze nationaler Willensbildung gefährdet sein werden! Gewiß ist nach dem Wortlaut vieler Pakte das Wort von Repington verwerflich: „Bomben auf die Regierungssitze, so bald und so lang als möglich!" Aber glauben die Wirtschaftszentralen, namentlich der kriegsnotwendigen Betriebe, daß es auf sie aus Gründen der Rücksicht auf ehemalige weltwirtschaftliche Theorie nicht angewendet werden wird? So können wir also ins Freie führende Rettungswege nur in großräumigen Zusammenschlüssen sehen. Aber solche sind, wie man in Frankreich und Zwischeneuropa immer deutlicher zu ahnen beginnt, nur möglich, wenn man dem Nationalsozialismus sein Eigenrecht dabei gibt. Aus weltpolitischen Erwägungen wirtschaftlicher Herkunft zurückrevidieren läßt sich eine in Kultur und Macht so fest verwurzelte bodenechte Erscheinung nicht mehr. Man muß auch weltwirtschaftlich Hand in Hand mit ihr vorwärtsgehen — oder sie geht allein mit den Gesinnungsverwandten!

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VIII.

Internationale und Panideen im Kampf gegen den Nationalsozialismus; die Großmächte, ihre Reichsgedanken und die Eigenstaatlichkeit der Kleinen

Alle Internationalen — wenn sie zum vollen Sinn ihrer selbstgewählten Bezeichnungen aufleben wollen — müssen natürliche Todfeinde und Zerstörer wie aller eigenvölkischen und Rasseneigenart und Selbstbehauptung, so auch des Nationalsozialismus mindestens in seiner Ländererscheinung sein. Das ist so unvermeidlich wie in der anorganischen Natur der Kampf der abtragenden Kräfte gegen die ursprünglich gebirgsbildenden, aus deren Endergebnis höchstens die abgelagerten Schichten wieder durch neue gebirgsbildende Kräfte emporgehoben werden können.

Diese naturgesetzliche Wahrheit gilt, ob sich die Internationalen nach Zahlen als I., als II. oder III. oder Halbe dazwischen gliedern; oder ob sie versuchen, gleichstrebige Kräfte nach Farben als goldene, grüne, rote oder schwarze zusammenzufassen. Die grüne Internationale der Bauern ist uns dabei immer nur als ein Abwehrnothehelf gegen andersfarbige, sie überwältigende Internationalen erschienen; denn eben der Boden, die angestammte Erde und ihre bodenständigen, erdhaften Züge, deren Recht eine grüne Internationale verfechten wollte, kann doch immer nur national sein. Ihre tragende Kraft hat den unverwischbaren Stempel von Bodenaufbau, Bodenart, Klima und was aus ihnen erwächst, mehr als irgendeine andere, bodenfreiere, landschweifende Schöpfung menschlicher Macht.

Den zersetzenden, zerstörenden Kräften jeder Art von Internationale gegenüber (auch bei Weltreichen, die in Ermattung ursprünglicher aufbauender Staats- und Volkskraft ihre Insassen in „Fellachentum" versinken lassen, wie das römische, als es von innen her durch die lateinisch-griechische Spaltung und die vorderasiatischen Religionen im Stil von Internationalen ausgehöhlt wurde), befindet sich der nationalsozialistische Gedanke immer in Abwehr auf Leben und Tod, ob er sich dessen bewußt wird oder nicht. Das gleiche aber braucht nicht notwendig bei den Panideen der Fall zu sein; denn es ließe sich der Fall denken, daß Erdteilzusammenfassungen oder meerumspannende Ballungen im Zusammenschluß nationalsoziali-

stischer Antriebe entstehen könnten, die großer Kraftäußerung fähig wären.

In diesem Sinn ist wohl die Äußerung von Rudolf Heß gedacht gewesen, „das neue System werde sich, wenn auch in völkisch bedingten Abwandlungen, auch in der übrigen Welt durchsetzen". Das kann auf dem Weg immer größerer regionaler Ringbildung natürlichen Wachstums geschehen, jedoch immer von nationalen, völkischen Stämmen aus.

Aber die Anerkennung dieser völkisch bedingten Abwandlungen als Basis ist eben das geopolitisch Entscheidende, das zum Beispiel der Weltrevolutionsgedanke der III. Internationale nicht erkennt, wie er ja auch die scheinbar politisch und kulturpolitisch selbständig gelassenen Teilgebiete der Sowjetunion in eisernen wirtschaftspolitischen Klammern festhält und in die Parteiherrschaft einer winzigen Minderheit über die schwer leidenden 160 Millionen hineinzwingt. Das Schicksal der Wolgadeutschen könnte endgültig jeden, der Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit sehen will, von aller täuschenden Phraseologie völkischer Rettungsmöglichkeit von der Internationale aus heilen.

Nun besteht zwischen dem (wegen der großen Anhängerzahlen des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens gerade in Europa zuerst naheliegenden) Paneuropagedanken und dem italienischen Faschismus wie dem deutschen Nationalsozialismus ein Verhältnis tiefsten Mißtrauens. Das mußte eintreten, weil der Paneuropagedanke nach dem Weltkrieg in den Bann des außerordentlich geschickt mit internationalen „catch"-Worten Fremdenfang treibenden französischen Außenministers Briand und der Phraseologie von Genf wie der westeuropäischen Pseudodemokratie verfiel, und von diesem Bann, — trotz einer sehr mannhaften, zu wenig bekannt gewordenen Forderung von Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi an Briand, Farbe zu bekennen, — nicht mehr loskommen wird.

Die sämtlichen übrigen Panideen aber* stehen, wie die großbritische, die panpazifische, im Dienste ganz bestimmter Machtgedanken. Andere bilden, wie die panasiatische, den erbittert umkämpften Streitgegenstand zwischen solchen Machtgedanken, wie im Falle Japans und der

*) deren Wesen wir einmal in einem Bande der Weltpolitischen Bücherei von Grabowsky beleuchtet haben, auf den wir deshalb, namentlich wegen seiner Karten, verweisen können.

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Sowjets. Sie dienen revolutionären Bewegungen, namentlich farbiger Rassen gegen weiße Einflüsse, wie in China, Indien, oder den Ansätzen panafrikanischer Regungen, oder endlich, sie sind in Erdteilegoismen — nicht reibungslos! — verwirklicht, wie in der australischen Commonwealth, oder in Rechts- und Wirtschaftsfiktionen, wie Panamerika.

Unter den in großem Stil als politisches Kampfmittel verwendeten Panideen sind für den Nationalsozialismus gerade in seiner europäischen Prägung die panasiatische und die panpazifische vielleicht die interessantesten. Denn seine Führer können beide mehr als etwa Paneuropa objektiv betrachten. Ist doch der Kampf um die panasiatische Bewegung als Werkzeug zugleich belehrend für die Stärke des Kampfes des Nationalsozialismus in seiner ostasiatischen Prägung einerseits gegen die III. Internationale in ihrer Verbindung mit dem allrussischen Nationalismus und dem eurasiatischen Panslavismus andrerseits. Daneben läuft beider Ringen mit den großen Kolonialmächten, der britischen Reichsidee und dem Amerikanertum, das sich der pazifischen Bewegung so außerordentlich geschickt bedient.

So, wie sich der japanische Nationalsozialismus die Lösung eines Asienbundes unter seiner Führung vorstellt, mit einem im Stil von Mandschukuo herangeholten und wiederversöhnten China und Südostasien, mit zweifellosen Vorstößen in den Indischen Raum, (wo jetzt schon ein erbitterter Wirtschaftskrieg zwischen Lancashire, Japan und einheimischen Webbetrieben tobt), müßte dieser Anlauf unzweifelhaft vom europäischen Nationalsozialismus als ein kühnes Experiment auf seiner eignen Linie betrachtet werden. Obendrein kostet es uns nichts, daraus zu lernen, weil wir, und zwar als einzige Machtträger unter den Großmächten, in Deutschland und Italien, weit vom Schuß sind, während die großen Kolonialmächte allesamt schwer beteiligt bleiben, wie auch ihre Klientel, wovon namentlich die vorbeugende Angst der Niederlande, aber auch manche Seiten im „Temps Colonial" Zeugnis geben.

Der Aufbau der pazifischen Ausgleichsbewegung aber (Zentrum: Pacific Union, Honolulu) — mit ihrer kühlen, fast theoretisch-diskussionsmäßigen Behandlung der heikelsten Fragen, wie der Auswanderung in zurzeit verbotene Räume, der gegenseitigen Rassenachtung, der Aussichten von Kriegen zwischen Japan und Sowjets (Nitobe in Banff!), zwischen U.S.-Amerika und Japan, mit ihren großen

Schallkörpern in allen an den Pazifik angrenzenden Ländern und Völkern, ihrer dadurch fast unbegrenzten Propagandamöglichkeit in wissenschaftlichem Gewande — ist höchster Aufmerksamkeit eines jeden Volksaufklärungsministeriums in Italien und Deutschland wert, namentlich wenn man die Ergebnisse dieser Art von Volksaufklärung Landfremden mundgerecht machen will.

Läßt sich im einen Fall erkennen, wieviel mit rauher und sanfter Gewalt unter Benutzung von Panideen — auch gegen Internationalen! — erreicht werden kann, so im andern, wie weite, machtgewohnte Kreise doch einer geschickten Überredung und beständigen politisch-wissenschaftlichen Beeinflussung zugänglich sind. Gewiß kommt man auch dabei nicht an der harten Erkenntnistatsache vorbei, daß die Eigenstaatlichkeit der Kleinen in den Händen der Großmächte oft nicht gut bewahrt ist, auch wenn sie sich zur Flurbereinigung der allgemeinsten und schönsten Ideen als geistigen Machtfahrzeugs bedienen.

Aber der Gedanke, notwendige Flurbereinigungen und Vereinheitlichungen zu vollziehen und dabei örtliche Widerstände durch Gleichschaltung aufzuheben, liegt ja ebenso auf der großen Linie des Nationalsozialismus wie der raumweiten Kolonialmächte alten Stils, wenn sie sich für ihre Großraum-Zusammenschlüsse noch mehr ausgreifender Raumgedanken bis zum Gaukeln mit internationalen und Weltzusammenschlüssen bedienen. Der Nationalsozialismus kann sich dabei immer auf eine große Erkenntnis der politischen Erdkunde berufen, die Ratzel in die Form gebracht hat, daß bei einem Zusammenstoß zwischen eng- und kleinräumigen und groß- und weiträumigen Bewegungen auf die Dauer immer die Groß- und Weiträumigen Sieger blieben. Das hat Rudolf Kjellen im Hinblick auf die Vielstaatlichkeit in Nachkriegs-Europa und auch wohl aus skandinavischen Sympathien heraus durch eine Art gesetzmäßiger Erhaltung der Kleinen in Zweifel ziehen wollen. Aber wir sehen jetzt, daß die aus politischem Eigennutz einiger Großen geschaffenen staatlichen Kleinlebewesen in Wirklichkeit nicht lebensfähig sind und nur im Anschluß an großräumige Gefolgsherren oder durch Verbündungen, wie die Kleine Entente, ein Scheinleben gewinnen im vielköpfigen Parlamentarismus des Völkerbunds, das eine größere Lebenskraft vortäuscht, als ihrer Wirklichkeit zukommt. Ähnlich würde es sich ja auch wohl in den größeren Raumzusammenschlüssen verwirklichter Panideen verhalten. Nur die eine, weltwirk-

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same Gesichtsseite des Nationalsozialismus kann ihnen lächeln; die andere, strengere zeigt ein verschlossenes Gesicht und hütet ihr Tor und ihre Grenzen!

IX.

Das Doppelgesicht des Nationalsozialismus in der Welt zwischen Rasse, Volk, Land und Erdkreis

So hat der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt, im Lichte der Erdkunde betrachtet, dasselbe uralte und ewigjunge Doppelgesicht wie der mystische Janus: eines, das weithin erdumspannend Weltfernen überschaut, und eines, das nur im eigensten Volksboden jeder Rasse vollkommen verstanden werden kann, darüber hinaus von Einzelnen und Gruppen wohl, von Massen aber nicht. Solange Kampf bewußter Kulturträger um Lebensraum auf der Erde für höchste Werdemöglichkeiten ihres Rassenideals ist, so lange muß der Janustempel notwendig offenstehen. Nur augusteische Zeiten des „Fellachentums" weiter Landschaften unter einem bald aber erschlaffenden Herrenvolk können ihn vorübergehend schließen. Dann muß wieder eine heroische Lebensanschauung kommen, um ihn aufzureißen — oder ein Kulturkreis stirbt hinter den verschlossenen Toren.

Mit dem nationalen Gedanken an sich aber steht es so, wie Hans Prinzhorn es fein formulierte, daß er zu jenen gestaltenden Grundströmungen der Menschheit gehört, „denen Revolutionen gegen Bestehendes nur Gelegenheit zu Revolutionen für kulturelle Werte bieten und die in diesem Sinne revolutionäre für ewige Dinge gegen die Überschätzung von Zeitideen sind, radikal im kleinen und gegen die Kleinen, konservativer als irgendein politisch Konservativer im Großen".

Daher seine Kraft, Erbwerte in Rassen und Völkern zu erhalten und zu erneuen, also im Teilraum bewahrend und erhaltend zu sein, und trotzdem erneutes und kulturell verjüngtes Wertgefühl in der revolutionärsten Weise, mit der ganzen ansteckenden und je nach dem nationalen Schallkörper umformenden Kraft des status nascendi um die Erde zu tragen, mit einer viel größeren übervölkischen dynamischen Wirkung als viele von vornherein international angelegte Lehrmeinungen. Denn Beispiel ist mehr als Lehre!

Dieser Doppelwirkung und der ungeheuren Schwierigkeit, sie im Gleichgewicht zu halten, kann sich aber nach uralten geschichtlichen und geopolitischen Erfahrungen immer nur ein kleiner, oberster Führerkreis, eine von ungeheurer Verantwortung belastete Auswahl bewußt bleiben. Daher die viel strengere Betonung des Führergedankens und Grundsatzes in allen nationalsozialistisch geleiteten Lebensformen und Kulturkreisen, soweit diese von einem Raum- und Massengedanken aus beherrscht sind. Zuletzt aber trägt ein Einzelner die Verantwortung, wie den Ruhm und die Ehre des Durchbruchs eines Lebenskreises von jeder Überschätzung von Zeitideen zu ewigen Dingen, wozu für gesunde Völker die Erhaltung ihres Blutes und Bodens in seiner Eigenart gehören müssen, sonst sind sie sterbensreif! Sein ist die Tat!

Und da es auch in diesem Falle gilt: „die Tat ist alles — nichts der Ruhm" — so folgt, wie bei der Volkserneuerung Italiens durch Mussolini, auch bei der deutschen Verjüngung durch Adolf Hitler die Ideologie den Spuren der Tat, und wo es anders versucht wird, da tötet zu viel Ideologie allzuleicht die Tatmöglichkeit. Daher war es berechtigt und klug, daß die Träger des nationalsozialistischen Gedankens in Deutschland sich zum Verdruß ihrer Gegner so lange weigerten, mit bindenden Programmen hervorzutreten, während doch der nationalsozialistische Gedanke als Weltbewegung deutlich genug mit seinen Grundforderungen, eben mit dem Wiederanschluß an die ewigen Dinge hervortrat. Wenigstens waren wir uns über diese Seite ganz klar, als wir im März 1924 in der „Geopolitik" über die geopolitischen Einflüsse bei den Verkörperungsversuchen von nationalem Sozialismus und sozialer Aristokratie schrieben — lang, ehe Hans Prinzhorn daran dachte, der nach W. Deubel „der erste unter den höheren geistigen Menschen war, der das Wesen der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung verstanden und aufatmend begrüßt, aber auch in mahnenden Aufsätzen vor Verfälschung zu hüten versucht hat".

Eine Gefahr, nicht schon die „Verfälschung" im Sinne Prinzhorns besteht hier wie bei jeder auf Herrschaft der Besten, auf echte Aristokratie abgestellten Bewegung erst dann, wenn sie von der Auswahl, ihrem naturwissenschaftlichen Daseinsgrund, zur Ausschließung übergeht, also aufhört, sozial zu sein. „Der Beste muß immer freien Weg zu den Besten haben", schrieben wir damals und wußten, daß sich die

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in Landsberg ſitzenden oder auf der Flucht befindlichen Führer damals ſchon völlig klar darüber waren. Sie legten Wert darauf, daß die Ideologie der Tat diente, nicht ſich Herrenrechte anmaßte, wo ſie in Wahrheit keine hatte. Hier gilt: „Im Anfang war die Tat."

Aber Mitteleuropa hatte vergeſſen, daß das Wort und ſein Haupt-Wortführer, jenes Alter, das jenſeits des praktiſchen „accedere ad rem publicam" ſteht, der Tat zu dienen hat, nicht umgekehrt. Deshalb erlebte Mitteleuropa den mächtigſten und revolutionärſten Durchbruch des nationalſozialiſtiſchen Gedankens in der Welt an dem zahlenſtärkſten, vorerſt dafür bereiten Großvolk der Erde — zahlenſtärker als das italieniſche mit ſeinen 41, das japaniſche mit ſeinen 65 Millionen, aber in einem viel ungünſtigeren Raum, geradezu in einem Reich der Grenzen (wie man ja auch ſpottend einſt Friedrich den Großen einen „roi des frontières" genannt hatte), mit einem Drittel ſeiner Volkszahl unter Fremdgewalt, neben den 66 Millionen im Reich.

Für die Schwierigkeiten, die ſich hier entgegenſtellten, für den Druck, der zu überwinden, für die zurückgedrängten Gefühle, die zu bändigen waren, iſt der Umſchwung mit ſo beiſpielloſer Ordnung und Ruhe erfolgt, daß die Umwelt in weiten Kreiſen ſich gar nicht klar darüber wurde, daß es ſich um einen grundſtürzenden Umſchwung in ihrer Mitte gehandelt hatte. So hart es klingt: der vergleichende politiſche Geograph ſtellt feſt, daß eine Kataſtrophe (wie die von Smyrna, die der Ankara-Türkei ihre Auseinanderſetzung mit der Welt eher erleichterte als erſchwerte, ein Menetekel wie das von Shanghai 1932 mit ſeiner Flucht der 850000) in einer mitteleuropäiſchen Großſtadt, in einem weltbekannten Induſtriegebiet oder Welthafen das Verſtändnis des Auslandes für die bändigende Leiſtung der Führer des Umſchwungs wahrſcheinlich vermehrt, ihre internationale Stellung nach der Machtergreifung eher verbeſſert hätte.

So ſchwer begreift der von vergänglichen, überſchätzten Zeitideen beherrſchte Teil der Welt, der „ſaturierten Völker" und ihrer Preſſe die Schwierigkeiten beim Aufbruch und Durchſtoß von „Revolutionären für ewige Dinge"; ſo notwendig auch iſt es, daß die ganze Wiſſenſchaft eines ſo tief bewegten Volkes den Führern einer ſolchen Bewegung beim Verſtändlichmachen ihrer volkspolitiſchen und übervölkiſchen Ziele, bei ihrer Selbſtdarſtellung, mit ihrer vollen politiſch-wiſſenſchaftlichen Sachkenntnis, ihrer ganzen Auslands- und Weltkunde diene.

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Das Neue Reich

Dr. Haushofer,

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt

Callwey

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Translation of excerpts from Haushofer, Karl,
Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt
(The National Socialist Idea in the World), 1933.

Nevertheless, the main difficulty in making a Fascist or National Socialist way of life understood in its total national development, lies not so much in its time phases (that is, the alternations between evolutionary, gradual developments, and propulsive, subversive, revolutionary periods) as in its spatial, geographical phases.

From a world-wide, foreign political aspect, it is of decisive importance to that way of life, whether its nature, which is formed to a great extent by the combined effects of blood and soil, within a specific system which has its own characteristic geographical setting and population, can make itself understood to other neighboring or more distant countries capable of affecting its geopolitical destiny; whether it is within the scope of a world-wide, universal spiritual movement, or is merely an isolated, local phenomenon in the world. (p. 4)

But as to the National Socialist Empires, each had to find itself through its own strength. This results from the nature of National Socialism as opposed to the Internationale. Each empire met at first unfriendly misunderstanding, which was increased by the aversion of international alliances and ad hoc organizations. Strangely enough, among the first who tolerated the new idea was the Russian Soviet Union, which tried to come to terms with it. It was, in fact, not at all the case that the common energetic fight of Italy, Japan and Germany against the Marxist decadent phenomena of the Second and the Third Internationale, after their orientation towards National Socialism, would have made impossible diplomatic negotiations in respect to foreign affairs with Moscow. On the contrary, the more distinctly the structure of the internal policy of the negotiating powers turned toward a strong nationalism, the more easily the Soviets could be induced to sacrifice, among other important things, their agitation and propaganda, in return for different services. These, however, had to be services of reciprocity. But that was obviously possible only when they recognized the impossibility of taking advantage, for their world revolutionary ideas, of the dangerous social situation of the Fascist party to the compact, of its overburdened economic structure erected on a basis too narrow for its overpopulated and industrialized circumstances. (p. 5)

In all such cases, there is the repressed impulse of valuable youth, which finds it impossible to breathe or to work; actually, it is less a case of "a people without space," than of a youth force, developing into a people without space. Just as in the case of Italy, it was the struggle around Fiume, and in the case of Japan, it was the retrogression due to the withholding of rights to territories in Manchuria, for which blood had been shed, which proved to be a great stimulus to the respective National Socialist movements, so in the case of Germany it was the complete cutting off of enthusiastic youth from activity in great spaces -- youth which had the consciousness of its space-conquering worth. (p. 9)

As we sum up the results of the first investigation of the National Socialist idea in the world, and consider whether it concerns a world-wide movement or merely a movement confined to a nation and a race, we can only see the German movement for a revival of a national spiritual unity, like the Italian Fascism, and like the return of the Japanese national soul to the National Socialist way of development, which is more than a thousand

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years old, and like the other examples of the same tendency in many other countries — under the double aspect of a nation-wide and a world-wide phenomenon. (p. 12)

Therefore we see - under geopolitical aspects - the preserving principle in the national, almost racially uniform embodiment of the National Socialist idea, combined with emphasis upon the principle of the leadership of the best from the standpoint of racial hygiene, selected and constantly rechecked according to a principle of true aristocracy, not based upon birth or wealth. (p. 14)

The German people, on very ancient German territory, as along the Danube and at the mouth of the Vistula River, in Austria and Danzig, with the old German soil, were simultaneously agitated to a degree which already should be considered as expansion. Therefore, National Socialism in Germany was decried as a "torch of war", or, as in the "Economist," maliciously compared with a children's disease which "seems to threaten the Swiss people, the calmest nation of Europe," a sentiment which found echo in Hungary, and even in the Netherlands and in Scandanavia. Against it, dams were built, stretching from Western Europe in this direction: not only as far as the direct repressive power of England and France could reach, but also as far as the system of West Slavic alliances (the Little Entente) could be mobilized, although the pressure on the rear was relieved through treaties with the Soviet. But in this connection, it was forgotten that the new states of Southeastern Europe, because their borders had been narrowed and their overseas breathing space had been cut off, were placed in one direction at least, under conditions similar to those of the German soil, and yet had to feel continuously the latent Russian pressure; so that here, in fact, the example of Germany and Italy was more tempting than the contrary doctrines of the Western nations.

More and more, in addition to a more conscious movement in the Northeast, in Finland, Latvia and Poland, the feeling grew in these states that the whole West of Europe was fighting, although with a powerful and heavy armament of iron and gold, yet for a lost position. (p. 20)

The increase of territorial colossi and economic giants, such as the realm of the Soviet Union as successor to the white Czarist regime, and the United States as the heir of British Colonial tradition, with their tendencies to extend and to encroach as far as the gripping tentacles of economic policy can reach (the "anaconda plans") is a world danger. It suggests to the crowded, overpopulated, economically pressed, culturally deeply rooted supporters of the National Socialist ideology, among the greater and smaller powers, the idea of an alliance with the right of self-determination - as common protection against world revolution and dollar politics.

The thought comes so close to us that Hitler, out of the consciousness of his own grief because of our violated living space, expressed in his great Reichstag speech the acknowledgment of the nationalistic tendencies in neighboring states, an expression which was touching and therefore well understood by many. But such an expression imposes obligations! How is the situation in prosaic reality, where the ideas are not so closely connected, but the interests are conflicting? Is there any possibility of uniting the strong and clear idea of the right of self-determination for supporters of the National Socialist concepts, with their right to a sufficient breathing space and to all of the land which was first highly developed by their race, and of equalizing matters to such an extent that the majesty of the violated right of self-determination will defend the people and homes as well as the disputed boundaries of the total state, held together by race and nationality, with National Socialistic culture, power, and economy? (p. 29)

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Of all three National Socialist forms of life, Germany - with its rapidly growing, urbanized, and highly industrialized population, the imports and exports necessary to feed it passing along the ramparts of the coasts of Great Britain and coming out of the triangle of the sea - was and is today, in much the worst position, although the development of its agriculture has diminished the worst possibilities of a blockade. The prospect of an assured supplement of food is offered to Central Europe, from an economic viewpoint, only by the East; and conversely, only Central Europe (by means of careful adjustment of import and export) could supply the masses of consumers indispensable to Eastern (intermediate) Europe. For the remaining stump of a Europe thus supplemented by transoceanic or transcontinental means (such as the Soviets), there is a geopolitical anomaly in the senseless encroachments upon world economy and the hostility with respect to cultural policy, of Eastern Europe against National Socialist Germany; an anomaly that is most grotesque when Austria participates in these demonstrations.

If ever the masses of producers and consumers between West Europe and the Soviet Union are to find their way back to an integral part of world economy worth mentioning, they have no alternative but a partial coalition; the French, Dutch, and Belgian Colonial Empires, by means of fair access, would then be able to supply the necessary tropical supplement to that economy. All other means of saving the isolated territories on these parts of the earth - and various means have been tried - would lead back into the labyrinth, and back under the fallen ruins of the old, imperfect world economy which has now collapsed, since its free play of economic forces cannot be maintained any longer. The least prospect is offered figuratively and literally by constantly increasing the height of tariff barriers, and by setting up subsidized enterprises which could not have prospered under free trade conditions, subventions for which the war material panic certainly offered a special opportunity. But what is the importance of customs boundaries and armament factories, which are established by small states one half hour, or even one hour, away from one another by airplane, by states that are very small for the political and economic concepts of today; what to do they mean if they are not able, as in the case of the Soviet Union, to wedge in partly protective buffer-states between those disputed boundaries and armament centers? One should compare under compasses, even if one is considering questions of world economy, the air routes of Balbo, of 1200 to 2400 kilometers; one should also remember that Junker airplane which took the 6000 kilometers from Berlin to Urumchi in 48 hours, if one wants to have it clear in his own mind in what circumference, during the coming decade, industrial and army centers and seats of national determination will be endangered! Certainly, according to the wording of many treaties the saying of Repington may be rejected: "Bomb the seats of government as soon and as long as possible!" But do the economic centers, especially those having factories necessary for the war, believe that it will not apply to them, because they depend upon an earlier theory of world economy? Hence we can see freedom and security only in mergers of large areas. But these, as is beginning to be seen more clearly in France and Central Europe, are possible only if one grants National Socialism its right to its existence. Such a deeply-rooted, true-bred phenomenon, attached to German culture and power, can no longer be turned back by considerations of world policy and economic tradition. One has to go forward hand in hand with it even in matters of world economy - or it will advance alone, accompanied only by its own convictions. (p. 40)

In this case, too, the main point is: "Action means everything -- fame nothing". Therefore, as with the Nationalist renewal of Italy through Mussolini, so also with the German rejuvenation through Hitler,

ideology follows the paths of action, and wherever this does not occur, too much ideology may easily kill the energy for action. Therefore, it was justified and prudent, that the supporters of the National Socialist idea in Germany, in defiance of their opponents, refused for so long to come forward with a binding program, while the National Socialist idea as a world-wide movement stood out clearly with its basic postulates, particularly its reunion with eternal reality. At least we were clear upon this point, when in March 1924, we wrote in "Geopolitics" on the subject of geopolitical influences upon the endeavors to make National Socialism and social aristocracy a living reality. This was long before Hans Prinzhorn thought about the subject — Prinzhorn, who, according to W. Deubel, "was the first among the higher intellectuals who understood and welcomed with sighs of relief the nature of the National Socialist movement, but who also made efforts in warning articles to keep any false elements away from it."

A danger, not indeed "false elements" in the sense of Prinzhorn, exists here as in any movement which is aimed at the rule of the best, at a genuine aristocracy; if and when it proceeds from selection, its cause for existence from the standpoint of natural science, to exclusion, and thus ceases to be social. "The best must always have free access to the best," we wrote at that time — knowing that the Leaders who were imprisoned at Landsberg or who were fleeing saw this very clearly. They emphasized the fact that ideology has to serve action, and must not assume a mastery which in fact it does not possess. Here the truth applies: "In the beginning was the Deed." (p. 47)

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DOCUMENTS RELATING

to

CHARGE No. 3.

Document 9.

(Quoted from: "Der Fuehrer", December 12, 1929, which gives a report on the Annual General Meeting of the V.D.A., in 1939, in Berlin:

Chairman of the Executive (Bundesfuehrer) Gen.Prof.Dr.Karl Haushofer. Director of the Association : Menke.

State Secretary Franz Karmasin, Leader of the Germanism of Slovakia, and leading man of ethnic German groups reported on the present situation, of the millions of followers under their charge. The Annual Report for 1939, emphasises that the year 1939 brought the realisation of some of the greatest ethnic-political hopes, in which the V.D.A. had a most considerable preparatory share through preservation of ethnic character and ethnic-political enlightment. The Report goes on to enlarge on the liquidation work relating to the liberated and re-settled ethnic groups in the Sudentenland, Teschen-Olsa-Memel, Poland, Estonia, Latvia etc. The place of this consummated foreign political work has now been taken...by the formation of Gau associations, :Seven Gau associations have been formed in the Ostmark, one in the Sudetenland, and three in the former Poland. There are to-day 40 Gau associations as against 25 in 1936. The year 1939, brought 230,000 new members and 1,700 new branches. Particularly noteworthy is the considerable participation of the school children in the "Voksdeutsches Kameradschaftsopfer", (ethnic German comradeship sacrifice), the figure being 40,701 or 67% of all schools.

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Document 6.

DECREE RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A HEAD OF THE FOREIGN ORGANIZATION AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE DATED JANUARY 30, 1937
(RGBL. I 1937 p.187)

I.

To ensure uniformity in the care for Reich Germans living abroad, a head of the Foreign Organization shall be appointed at the Foreign Office, who shall at the same time be entrusted with the direction and elaboration of all matters relating to Reich Germans living abroad within the competence of the Foreign Office.

II.

Director of the Foreign Organization of the N.S.P., Gauleiter Ernst Wilhelm Bohle is hereby appointed head of the Foreign Organization at the Foreign Office. He is directly and personally subordinate to the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs. His scope as Director of the Foreign Organization of the N.S. Party and his subordination in that capacity to the Deputy Fuehrer, remain unaffected. His designation is: Head of the Foreign Organization at the Foreign Office.

III.

The head of the Foreign Organization at the Foreign Office shall participate at the meetings of the Reich Cabinet when matters relating to his department are dealt with.

(Signed) The Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor
ADOLF HITLER

(Signed) FREIHERR von NEURATH
Minister of Foreign Affairs

H3258-0125

Document 10 A.

L-360

VEREIN FÜR DAS DEUTSCHTUM IM AUSLAND
(LEAGUE FOR GERMANDOM IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES)
BERLIN W 30, MARTIN LUTHER STREET 97

AGREEMENT

With the National Office of the Hitler Youth

Between the Hitler Youth and the VDA the following fundamental arrangement has been agreed upon:

(1) With a complete respect for the important racial-political tasks the Hitler Youth recommends to its members membership in collaboration with the VDA.

(2) The work of the VDA group continues in its previous forms. The VDA, however, discontinues its military and physical training.

(3) The school groups of the VDA (racial-German work-cells) assist the Hitler Youth in their work.

(4) The VDA group chiefs work consequently in closest contact with the Hitler Youth leaders and participate with their groups in the events of the Hitler Youth, as conversely the Hitler Youth can also take part in the racial-German fetes of the VDA.

(5) As a visible sign of his solidarity with the Hitler Youth the VDA member wears a VDA armband with the Swastika.

(6) Solicitor Nabersberg of the NSDAP's National Youth Office becomes a member of the VDA's Council of Leaders. Dr. H. Schoeneich of the VDA becomes a member of the Council of Leaders in the Reich's Board of German Youth Societies. The same reciprocal representation is also to be established in the provincial boards.

Karlsruhe, May 6, 1933

For the VDA

Signed: Dr. H. Schoeneich

Per E. Klinghammer

For the Hitler Youth

The Reich's Youth Leader

Signed: Baldur von Schirach

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Document 10 B.

VEREIN FUER DAS DEUTSCHTUM IM AUSLAND
(LEAGUE FOR GERMANDOM IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES)
BERLIN W 30, MARTIN LUTHER STREET 97 *)

THE REICH'S MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IS FOR THE VDA WORK!

Transcript II B 7855/27.4
THE REICH'S MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR BERLIN, FEBRUARY 24, 1933.
II B 7855/4.2

To the Governments of the Federal States
(Landesregierungen)

RE: Verein fuer das Deutschtum in Ausland,
(League for Germandom in Foreign Countries)
Deutscher Schulverein e.V.
(German School League, Inc.)

My Ministry in its attention to national tasks has to a special degree exercised protection over and furtherance of Germandom in the border countries and Germandom in foreign countries. A large number of institutions concerned with special tasks in this sphere are being supported as far as possible by means at my disposal. Among all these the League for Germandom in Foreign Countries, German School League, Inc., Berlin, enjoys an especially favored position. To its work carried on for half a century is due the maintenance of so many German schools, churches, newspapers, or other institutions in the German settlements in foreign countries. Without such maintenance of these institutions large German folk-groups, especially under the pressure of the post-war period, would have perished as a cultural fertilizer for foreign peoples. Unfortunately in past years a certain reserve among wide circles of the population was noticeable with regard to the propaganda work of the above-named national League, and also administrative restrictions on its activities have not been left undone. It appears to me, therefore, as an urgent duty of the Reich and of the federal states not only to set aside such hindrances but also to enable the League for Germandom in Foreign Countries to unfold the increased propaganda work in all spheres which it desires. Also, regard, for the needs and misery of the time, and for the lack of work and bread within Germany, ought not to divert attention from the fact that the around 30 million Germans in foreign countries (Auslanddeutschen) outside of the present contracted borders of the Reich are an integral part of the entire German people. They are an integral part, which the Reich's Government is not able to help economically, but whose cultural support through the league primarily concerned with this, the League for Germandom in Foreign Countries, it considers it is obligated to make possible.

I should like accordingly to direct the special attention of the governments of the federal states to the activity of the League for Germandom in Foreign Countries with the idea that it be accorded privileged treatment. It is primarily the school groups which carry on the propaganda work of the League, in which at the same time the education of the youth to patriotic thinking

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takes place, an education which is above denominational and party differences. I will, therefore, attach the greatest value to the fact that its school meetings be accorded the greatest freedom of action and that the pupils be allowed to wear the insignia of the League in the schools. I would expect an effective enlivenment of this work, if the supervisors of all the schools in their annual reports to their superior authorities concerning the school activities, will be urged to report the furtherance of the League by the school groups of each school.

Last year, in accordance with the particular desire of the Reich's President, the "German School Celebration", aiming to extend the pan-German consciousness of our youth beyond the borders of the Reich, was held with great success in the Berlin Stadium. Moreover, in the current year the "German School Celebration" is to take place in Beuthen, Breslau, Erfurt, Duesseldorf, Gera, Gladbeck, Koeslin, Cologne, Munich, Nuremberg, Karlsruhe, and Stettin, among others. I would welcome it, if the "German School Celebration" could be introduced extensively through the Reich, since no project is more suited to put all the schools, and especially the elementary schools, in the service of Germandom in foreign countries, while the big national assembly of the VDA always effects only groups, primarily those from the higher schools. I am honored, therefore, to refer the government of the federal states especially to the introduction of the "German School Celebration", so that the school authorities may be induced to support this event and to facilitate the preparations for the celebration by special orders, as has occurred in Berlin.

Along with the school work of the League for Germandom in Foreign Countries, its general propaganda work among the public has assumed greater significance for the continuance of the German folk-groups in foreign countries in the same measure in which, in view of the financial situation of the Reich and of the federal states, the possibility of granting direct subsidies from the budget has become smaller. In the last year, with the approval of the Prussian State Commissar for the Regulation of Relief Work, a collection has taken place in all Prussia and, despite the poor economic situation this has had gratifying results in view of the national awakening of the German people, so that the League has approximately succeeded through the new collections in compensating for the considerable decrease of its other income. The request of the League, by intercession with the governments of the federal states to enable it to carry out this collection throughout the whole Reich, is accordingly most cordially seconded by me. The success of last year's collection was due to the fact that in Prussia the Senior Presidents, the Governing Presidents, and the State Councillors have devoted themselves to the service of the cause in the most commendable way. I would be grateful if all the governments of the federal states permit this collection and further it in the same way.

I would appreciate an answer approving my preceding remarks, and in the given case a report concerning what has already been done.

I have sent a copy to the Foreign Office.

FRICK

*)Source: National Socialism. Department of State Publication in 1943, page 446.

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Document 11 A.

FROM: "Sinn und Wesen des VDA, Volksbundes fur das Deutschtum im Auslande (Nature and Significance of the VDA, League for Germandom in Foreign Countries), by Otto Schäfer, VDA District Leader: Published by the Wermelskirchen Local Group and the Landesverband Niederrhein (Lower Rhine Society), Frankfurt-am-Main, Second Edition, May 1933:

(Pages 5-9)

"FROM REICH GERMANDOM AND GERMANDOM ABROAD TO RACIAL GERMANDOM

"1. The German Conception of the State and Its Roots---A Transformation in the German People's Way of Thinking

"When we speak of the German people, then the phrase which arose during the war, a people of 60 millions, is almost always inserted. In the course of the last decade, however, we had experienced more and more frequently that this proud designation is being replaced or at least supplemented by the still prouder one of 'a people of 100 millions'. This proceeding embodies simply and unobtrusively the fact that the German people's conception of itself has undergone a decisive transformation, in which larger and larger circles have participated. It means neither more nor less than the great progress from thinking in terms of the German state to thinking in terms of the German race.

. . . . . .

"Whoever does not remain content with this feeling of discomfort and thinks the matter out further, then readily finds that a member of the German race is a German and that membership in the German race and membership in a particular state basically have nothing at all to do with one another. Neither does the foreign citizenship hinder the German in his German thinking and feeling and in the use of the German language, nor, conversely, does his Germanism hinder him from being a loyal citizen of the foreign state. Racial alliance and citizenship prove themselves to be two different things. Consequently, one should also separate them rigorously in linguistic usage."

"THE WORK OF THE VDA

"1. Aims and principles of the Work

"The aim of the VDA's work, in its broadest sense, is the fulfillment of the meaning of German racial unity, the permeation of all Germans with the racial idea; the aim in the more restricted sense is the successful work of maintaining and protecting Germandom in all countries of the earth, and especially by the cultivation of German cultural forms of activity and expression. It considers itself in this only as a fellow worker, never as a benefactor or a relief agency for the racial brothers supported in their defensive struggle. It and its members enter the national front of the Germans abroad as equal fighters.

"The attainment of these goals is guaranteed by the principles of work which the VDA has adopted. Its first principle is absolute neutrality in all questions which do not concern Germandom directly nor in its totality. With regard to internal politics it places itself deliberately over all parties, religious denominations, and groups. It only tolerates the German will of man, the will which follows from his Germanness. . . ."

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"The Forms of Work (Abroad)

"Its major feature lies in the establishment and maintenance of German kindergartens and schools, for the first 14 years are usually decisive with regard to national allegiance, if an especially strong national will is not at hand. Usually the number of children and the particular conditions of the neighborhood are ascertained and then the solution of the matter is begun. If the German children live in a region of very mixed nationality, then the establishment of a German kindergarten is necessary. In unilingual areas, the establishment ofGerman schools suffices. In most cases attempts are made to induce the authorities to fulfil their obligations; if this does not succeed , the VDA acts and arranges for the building of a schoolhouse, in that it either furnishes a subsidy or itself builds the school . . . In other localities it pays for the teachers, or gives subsidies so that able teachers and pastors may be kept in the endangered areas. If the establishment of a school is impossible, then it attempts to arrange for good private instruction and grants subsidies for this also."

", . . The question of the Volksdeutsche leaders is the most important in the life of the minorities. Consequently the VDA seeks to gain the collaboration of the cultivated circles of the German minority, pointing out to them their obligations toward their people. It brings as many students as possible to Germany through granting scholarships, enables them later again and again to visit Germany, and sends its own representatives abroad so that the connection is never broken. In its own homes it takes German children from abroad for months and years in order to give them a proper education. For this reason it also subsidizes the erection of "German Houses" which serve as a center for all the German endeavors of a racial fragment, or in other places by appropriate alterations it seeks to put the parish house or the school in condition to serve this purpose. If conditions should improve, then it will again be possible to arrange extensive visiting trips of Germans from the Reich among the Germans abroad and to send German speakers from the Reich on lecture tours. At present this form of exchange and community can be carried on almost only from the side of the Germans abroad, who come among us."

"NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE VDA
"The Result of a Meeting"

This article, concerning the VDA meeting at Passau early in 1933, closes with the following paragraphs:

"The third matter which became clarified was the relation of the VDA to the Government and to the NSDAP. It appears clear that the ideas of the VDA come from the same root as those of National Socialism. Not in vain is the spirit of both born of the racial strife, from the struggle of the German people for its maintenance and and continued existence; not in vain has an Adolf Hitler received his first ethnic schooling as a boy in the ranks of the VDA. Consequently, no coordination (Gleichschaltung) nor transformation was necessary, and the cleansing, which was here and there necessary, could be entrusted to the VDA itself. Its spirit was a guaranty that this would take place properly.

"It had shown itself from the beginning as one of the most important if not the only bearer of a true National Socialist policy in the racial sense, with all necessary moderation toward all peoples but with all pitilessness in defense of its own race. This state of affairs was clearly expressed in the letter of Rudolf Hess, the Deputy Leader of the NSDAP, and in the agreement of friendship with the Hitler Youth. At the same time the high political

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talent of our Führer was exhibited in the fact that he had recognized at once what an important instrument for a successful racial-German (Volksdeutsche) policy stands at the German people's disposal in the form of an independent VDA. This recognition, which the VDA received from our Führer, naturally released an enormous wave of great thanks and joyful confidence which reacted on its work in an unusually fructifying and supporting way. This was above all clear in the full and proper comprehension of the Führer idea, which never means blind subjugation under any appointee, but voluntary subordination to the man, who is borne by the confidence of all, and who has shown his merit in the face of fate by deeds and accomplishments. In this sense, Dr. Hans Steinacher was elected Reich's Führer, in this sense homage was accorded to the leaders of the nation, in this sense not mere League members met in Passau but old discipline collaborators.

"For the future, however, Passau meant the clear knowledge that we can never become a national state in the sense of the western nations, that we are and must remain primarily a people, that neither the VDA nor the new German state can evade this vital and fateful law of the German nature. The ultimate goals of the VDA and the NSDAP consequently agree. It is a matter of the conquest of the last German person, the guaranteeing of an indestructible German racial unity, which deeply conscious and deeply anchored in the breast of every single German represents his highest and ultimate goal; it is a matter of the abandonment of self. From this goal the VDA is drawing the consequences at present. It is bursting the framework of the League, which for a long time has been too narrow, and it is carrying its old idea in a new form and a new organization out into the world. It is extending its sphere of work over the entire German race. No longer merely sustainer and helper, defender and champion, in the future it will be a mediator, a mediator between Germandom at home and Germandom abroad, a mediator between the government and the people. It will be the leader in a racial policy which extends far beyond the policy of an official government, it will be the leader in the organization of all German states and German men, in the common united great German racial front.

"Thus it stands behind, thus it stands ahead of the government, in complete freedom, but in deepest solidarity. If, in the future, government policy and racial policy may and must necessarily take different courses, nevertheless they will go hand in hand and have only the one goal: 'German Volk'."

"WHY A STRONG VDA?

"(1) Because our racial brothers in foreign countries acknowledge their adherence to us and to the Reich and we ours to them, and therefore a National Socialist Reich ought never to neglect VDA tasks, if it does not want to abandon itself.

"(2) Because we need a racial league, which not being an official government nor official party organization is able to work for its racial fellows, where the government and the party are not able and may not do this on account of political reasons, i.e. because racial policy and government policy are two different things, which it is true have the same point of departure and the same goal but must necessarily proceed along entirely different paths.

"(3) Because only a strong far-reaching organization can solve the great problems of racial policy.

"(4) Because the foreign countries do not let themselves be deceived and do not take a weak organization for a strong one, a government and party organization for a racial organization.

H3258-0131

"(5) Because otherwise the party and the Hitler Youth must form special groups in their own organizations for the solution of the VDA's tasks.

"(6) Because the foreign countries most readily reject racial work in this form, but the National Socialist, however, must support and push through precisely racial work in every form.

"(7) Because under present conditions the racial idea can be carried to all sections of our German race only through the VDA.

"(8) Because the VDA rests unconditionally on the foundation of German racial thinking, i.e. on the National Socialist foundation.

"(9) Because the leaders of the VDA are without exception National Socialists of the spirit and not just of the party.

"(10) Because the true VDA member is the true National Socialist, i.e. the VDA leads surely to National Socialism.

"(11) Because our Führer and Chancelor, Adolf Hitler, wants a strong VDA:

"(a) to permeate the entire people and the party with the racial ideas, the central ideas of National Socialism;
"(b) for the purpose of a strong and successful racial policy.

"(12) Because no National Socialist acts against the will of his Supreme Führer, but rather is executing it when he himself becomes a member of the VDA."

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Document 12.

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The following extracts are from an address by the Reich's leader of the VDA, Dr. Steinacher, at the meeting of the VDA in Passau, Whitsuntide 1933:)

The movement arises from the depths of the German race. Because it does so, it is no purely state movement and is therefore not limited by the borders of the state. It affects the entire extent of our racial corpus. The present moment is decisive, since the revolution has terminated within the Reich and the entire life is in a state of transformation. . . . .

And over there beyond our borders: from the Baltic down to the mouth of the Danube, from Upper Silesia to Egerland, from Burgenland to Tyrol and to Eupen-Malmedy, we see everywhere how the young generation is being seized by this movement. We observe it also beyond the seas in North America, in Brazil, and in South Africa, where with unique ardor precisely the simple classes have gained in self-consciousness and are proceeding along their way everywhere more full of faith and stronger. The entire German racial corpus has become actually fluid. Whatever belongs to it is being newly formed. A new aspect of German life has begun. . . .

The fight of the Germans abroad has taken on an entirely new significance . . . . Between the Germans within and those outside of the state center there is no difference of rank but only a difference of function. Every German folk-group in the world, out of its own particular life, out of its own special geographic and cultural situation, will in the future have to collaborate in a common European task and a world task of Germandom. These functions will be very different. In one place, the German folk-group and German states will have to be a wall against foreign claims. In another place, they will be bridges, and, in a third place, factors bringing about an alliance . . . .

The aim of our work is the maintenance of the race outside of our borders. This work cannot be isolated from the life of the Germans within our borders. Borders can separate the life of states but not the life of a people. No matter if the state be forced here and there to give up its claims and to endure borders which lie on this side of our ethnic borders, the race does not admit any such designation of race! On the contrary, the brotherliness and imperishable community of the race has to prove itself precisely where the state is no longer in a position to support and fulfil the race . . . We are the intermediaries of this exchange between the fight out there and the renewal here within. To be sure, there is still a long and difficult path to be traversed, in order really to arrive at this great goal, the truly entire German nation . . . It is necessary to see all important vital occurrences and results of our being in the whole extent of our racial corpus (Überstaatlichen Volkskörpers), a racial corpus which extends beyond and is superior to the state. We do not want German culture, German sentiments, German obligations to be any longer restricted by the sphere of state borders."

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Document 13.

. . . . . .

(Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt, September 21, 1933)

"PAN-GERMAN CELEBRATION

"The Chairman of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut, Chief Mayor Dr. Strölin, opened the celebration. He greeted among those present, in particular, Minister-President and Minister of Religion in Württemberg Mergenthaler as the representative of the supervisory authorities; General Haushofer of Munich as the representative of Rudolf Hess, who has been entrusted by the Führer with the supreme direction of all matters concerning Germans in foreign countries;

. . . . . .

"In his address Dr. Strölin stated, "The DAI has the task of maintaining and tightening the connections between the Germans in foreign countries and the mother-country."

In his address Minister-President Mergenthaler stated, "The National Socialist movement has had a fructifying effect in all spheres of life. It has also given an entirely new impulse to the work for Germandom. The work for Germandom in foreign countries has thereby received the proper consecration and depth. In the past years of struggle it has often filled us with concern that the work for Germandom in foreign countries could not be carried on in close connection with the Brown fighters of National Socialism. The liberalistic ideology which has been overcome dealt with the formal concept of the citizen. We have gotten rid of that. Today the blood-united German racial-comrade stands in the center. That is the new foundation upon which we must build."

"The work for foreign Germandom must in the future proceed on a racial basis; otherwise it has lost the ground under its feet.

. . . . . .

". . New paths will be opened up for the work of Germandom by the new conception. The new conception will be a protective wall against the cultural and racial absorption of our comrades in other peoples. National Socialism will give energy to the German racial comrades. We are giving the Germans abroad therewith something enormously great. We also ought to forget that the Germans abroad in a certain sense stand as guardians around us. Hence I want to impress on the Deutsches Ausland-Institut: Join us therefore in taking care that the spirit of National Socialism also become alive among the German racial-comrades in foreign countries, so that streams of energy may emanate from it!"

In his address the new Director of the DAI, Dr. Csaki, stated, "We followed with deep pain the inner disunity of the German people. Now since all that has been overcome, since we see that all the German folk (Volksdeutsche) organizations are standing in one line, we are filled with a feeling of pride for our German mother-country, a feeling of happiness: Germany is united."

"The feeling of adherence to the German people gives us a happy consciousness. In the course of centuries this or that position has been lost. We must prevent any more from being lost. It gives us a feeling of pride and of self-consciousness that we are bridges for the German Lebensraum."

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Document 14

Speech made before the yearly meeting of the D.A.I., 1935
(Schriften des Deutschen Auslands - Instituts, 1935, Vol. 1, p.7)

DELEGATE OF THE FUEHRER'S DEPUTY, PRESIDENT OF THE GERMAN ACADEMY IN MUNICH, PROFESSOR DR. K A R L H A U S H O F E R

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. PRIME MINISTER! German compatriots, men and women, honored co-workers in the Institute for Germanism Abroad, I stand in your ranks shoulder to shoulder as the Representative of the German Academy as well as a true and faithful servant of our Leadership. Midway between the official greetings of our homeland and the greetings of neighbouring organizations and others striving for the same objective, I stand before you talking - but have no fear; not longer than usual - with two faces: with a serious one of the representative of the D e p u t y o f t h e F u e h r e r, who himself experienced the ups and downs of fate in the hard school of a German living abroad, and who is sending you his cordial greetings and sincere thanks for all that you have done here. Nothing more wonderful can be imagined, standing here at the official request of a Fuehrer and Friend, than to say to oneself: the message which I could have brought here, has been fulfilled long ago; for I could have hardly conveyed this message in more appropriate terms than the Prime Minister himself did in his clear expose' of the superiority and necessity of political thinking along national lines as well as state lines. And I could find no better words than those of the President of the Institute for Germanism Abroad, to give you this message: Stand united, united, united! It is the great story of the work of those acting in behalf of Germanism in Foreign Lands, which was so wonderfully realized - as the Prime Minister expressed earlier - since we are a truly united nation; and for the first time in our long and great history there is no important force within the nation which would oppose the united will and the principles of our entire people. The immensity of the scope and of the change, naturally, brought about some difficulties for the work done for Germanism Abroad and in the Border Regions. For who in this world could be so naive and blind as not to realize that the sudden rising to its feet by a powerful nation to demand its rightful place in the world, would not be a comforting thought to its neighbours, nay, that it would be shocking to some and terrifying to others. It is therefore even more important that we should set out on this work with that total unity of purpose which the President asked of us; with the necessary capacity of absorbing the terrific strains which our work for Germanism Abroad imposes on us, as contrasted with our internal political task. An indefinite number of tasks lie before us. It is a long way from the attractive, almost artful duelling with words, for these rights, against talented leaders of foreign nations, - as the Prime Minister described them earlier, - to dead seriousness. This is comparable to elegant fencing, to the clashing of foils as contrasted to the resounding sound of shots, like that of the shots heard in Mantua about a century ago: "All Germany is torn by shame and grief". You know the thing we keep silent about in this case; but you also realize the greatness of it, when we can say, a l l Germany! And with that may I close the message of the Fuhrer's Deputy, who was himself a German Living Abroad, and who learned to work quietly and silently in the hard days of the Landsberg period, and later in the German Academy, just as we are working in our Institutes. And now permit me to show the harmless face of the P r e s i d e n t o f t h e G e r m a n A c a d e m y. As such I have no more to say to you than to bring you a cordial handshake. The thought that for one year we have been able to work in such harmony and with such assurance under a common Leadership, is in itself of immense value. It may be slightly unfortunate, perhaps, that some of us are doing rather too much than too little; but who shall complain if honest and able men are doing a little more than necessary for the purposes of Germanism in Foreign Lands! You see, it does not make so much difference. And whoever is engaged in this work will indeed appreciate it, upon thinking of the time when we started our gloomy retreat from the Rhine, when I was just able to reach Munich in the last car of the division-staff. Anyone of us here, who has lived to experience this change and is fully conscious of it, will naturally say to himself, that the better understanding - of which the Prime Minister spoke - shall come only when the men who are in power everywhere, in all the great nations of the world are like the man in power here, who went through hard times themselves, and who met on the battlefields. Then, such is our hope in the Institute for Germanism

Abroad (DAI), in the German Academy and in the Association of Germans Abroad, (VDA), we shall reach the highest and final goal for which we are striving; and in this sense I thank you for your confidence and conviction and for everything we shall take with us from this convention.

H3258-0136

Document 15

From a confidential report to the State Department contained in "National Socialism" a publication by the European Affairs Division of the State Department:

"The Institute's role as an important adjunct of the party's Foreign Organization appeared especially in the work of indoctrination. The Institute not only gave schooling courses for Germans from abroad but also assisted in the training of the leaders and agents who carried on the party's work abroad. A confidential report on this special schooling work conducted by the DAI for the Foreign Organization states:

"'All persons who in the future aspire to hold an office in the Foreign Organization abroad, such as that of Landesgruppenleiter, Ortsgruppenleiter, or some other Party function carrying with it the title of Amtswalter (office-holder), must now submit to a training course given in one of a number of so-called Schulungslager (indoctrination camps) where the candidates take up communal residence for brief periods, usually lasting a fortnight. Many of the present office-holders are indeed being brought back to Germany to be loged in one of these Schulungslager, or houses or camps, where they are given the necessary intensive grounding in the principles of National Socialism. It appears, moreover, that the younger men most recently admitted to the official foreign services, as well as those below a certain grade who are called back to serve in the Foreign Office, must also attend one of these camps in summer. (Their wives are schooled in special courses given locally in Berlin.) Not only are Party and Government officials serving abroad forced to submit to this training, but it appears that persons capable of exercising a cultural and professional influence abroad, such as ministers, doctors, lawyers, business leaders, and so forth, are encouraged and sometimes required to attend one of these camps, where Nazi doctrine is mixed with rigid military discipline.

"The Ausland-Institut plays a part in determining the curriculum of the Schulungslager as well as serving as an intermediary between the Party authorities who run these camps and Germans from abroad who are to attend them. Its facilities of various kinds are also put at the free disposal of persons of German extraction who visit the Reich and who may be counted upon to promote the National Socialist cause in foreign countries.'"

H3258-0137

Document 16

From "Das Archiv", October 12, 1936:

"After a report of activities by the President of the Deutsche Akademie, Professor Dr. Haushofer, the link with the Deutsche Auslandinstitut of Stuttgart was further developed, and it was resolved to establish immediately an office for the ethnological study of Germans living abroad, with head offices in Stuttgart.

In order to safeguard the representation of German economy, the former finance committee was dissolved, and an Economic Council was formed, composed of prominent representatives and employers of German economy. At present there are 145 members.

Within the Reich, the Deutsche Akademie has 31 affiliated bodies abroad, plus five outside bodies. During the year under report a new outside body, the ALEXANDER V. HUMBOLDT GESELLSCHAFT OF MEXICO, joined the Deutsche Akademie. In Bulgaria a library has been established, through which the latest publications of German literature are made accessible to the Bulgarian-German Cultural Association.

At the session of October 13, the appreciation of the Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs for the work of the Deutsche Akademie was conveyed by Dr. V. Twardowski."

H3258-0138

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Document 17.

From:

Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt
September 21, 1933--

(Report on DAI Meeting)

"Deputy Gauleiter Schmidt, representing Dr. Goebbels, stated, "The local party leadership (Gauleitung) is prepared to cooperate through thick and thin with the new officers of the DAI. National Socialism will demand the blood community of all Germans as its historic right. Our blood relationship is a great gift of which we must always be conscious."

H3258-0139

Document 18.

From Information Sheet of the Comradeship U.S.A., issued by the Deutsches Haus, in Stuttgart (No. 1, 1941, pp. 6, 7

"Collection of Documents Concerning the Movement:

The collection of pictures, photos, handbills, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and posters of the German national movement in the United States, which was begun by me in the spring of 1937, will be continued.

The material already at hand is to be built up to a complete collection, which later is to be incorporated into the German Foreign Institute, as well as the Central Archives of the NSDAP in Munich, as an eternal record of our struggle in the United States.

The original documents will be returned to each comrade after recording, so that no sacrifice of personal souvenirs will occur. I only ask you to have patience.

Collection of Films of the Movement:

For the same reasons we wish to hear from all comrades who are in possession of films concerning the movement. I am in a position to have a good complete film in several copies prepared from such films.

The films do not need to be sent in yet. It is sufficient at present to inform me and to describe the film and indicate its approximate length.

(p. 7) Contact With the United States:

It is of the greatest interest that the comrades maintain relations by letter with their acquaintances in the United States or renew these relations while observing the prescribed caution. In this respect it should be particularly noted that the recipient should not be endangered by careless remarks on our part. Any criticism or interference in internal American affairs should be avoided. Firm confidence in the victory of Greater Germany should ring out in our letters.

Letters may best be sent "Via Siberia" with exact observance of postal regulations.

Important to us are reports concerning public opinion in the United States, such as the nature of the attitude of Germans, which clubs have disbanded, how the average American considers the situation, how anti-Jewish sentiment is developing, etc. But in every case asking these questions directly of the recipient of the letters must be avoided.

I request all comrades to furnish me with excerpts from their letters from the United States, so far as they contain information on the subjects mentioned above."

H3258-0140

Document 19.

From a confidential report to the State Department, contained in "National Socialism" a publication by the European Affairs Division of the Department of State:

"Research and Information Service

"The Institute keeps itself posted concerning the cultural and business activities of Germans in foreign parts and maintains lists of German clubs and firms which are available to reliable persons wishing to enter into correspondence with these groups. In a certain sense it thus helps to further German trade, as it handles inquiries of a business nature and facilitates the making of initial contacts. The Institute, moreover, keeps a card index file of the family history of Germans who have left the Fatherland, bearing in particular upon their 'racial integrity'. Through its correspondents abroad who report directly to it the Institute is informed of the status and progress of 'Germanism' is particular countries. The reaction of the resident population is also recorded in special reports and clippings from the local press. The Institute is thus in a sense the seismograph which registers everything relating to the cause of 'Germanism'.

"Propaganda Work

"The Institute is one, but probably the most important, of the agencies which prepare and disseminate propaganda abroad in the form of books, pamphlets, periodicals and communiques. Such material is extensively supplied to public libraries, societies, educational institutions, church organizations, and so forth, provided they are frequented by, or connected in some way with Germans, or persons of German extraction. The Institute can furthermore be relied upon to assist in the preparation and documentation of Congresses held by Germans abroad.

"The Institute also has a hand in organizing the frequent and periodical broadcasts transmitted to foreign Germans by the powerful short-wave stations of the Reich radio system. The Stuttgart broadcasting station is housed in the building of the Institute which furnishes with appropriate material this station as well as others belonging to the German chain. The main object of the programs thus supplied is to keep Germans living in other countries in constant touch with developments in the Reich, to stimulate their interest in the Reich, to develop social, political and economic relationships favorable to Germany, and to convince them of the success of National Socialism. Certain of these broadcasts are also of a cultural nature and include music, theatrical programs, lectures on artistic and historical subjects, as well as also religious discourses.

"Activity in Emigration Matters

"The Institute would appear to exercise a certain function in controlling and directing the source of the small amount of emigration (excepting Jews) that is taking place from the Reich. It is understood to possess a department which acts as a sort of labor exchange able to furnish German workemn for firms doing business abroad. This section also apparently advises persons wishing to proceed to foreign countries as settlers, handling their applications and passing upon their requests for foreign exchange. The Institute's activity in this field is apparently based on the theory that while a large wave of emigration is neither possible nor desirable, nevertheless the establishment of the right kind of German settler is advantageous in certain localities, particularly if they can be encouraged to maintain their ties with the Reich and be bound to National Socialism."

H3258-0141

Document 20.

Foreword Advertising
Monographs of the German Academy

(Das Neue Reich, 1933)

The National Socialist movement, the basic ideas of which are winning more and more adherents among the peoples of the world, after having gained the political power, is still passionately fighting in Germany for the resolute, joyful, emotional and mental appreciation of the last compatriot, while still contending for the final forms which it wants to impress upon the national and social life. The non-German world, however, part of which is in quite a different political situation, watches the great rebirth of the German nation with uneasy surprise, even with hostility, and is unable to penetrate the spiritual - ethical background of Germany's change of direction, which is transforming the world.

Under these circumstances, the German Academy (Deutsche Akademie), the institution "for the scientific study and cultivation of Germanism," well known even beyond the frontiers of Germany, undertakes, with the approval and personal participation of the representative of the Führer, Rudolf Hess, through a series of publications entitled "Das Neue Reich" and consisting in concise popular monographs written by leading and responsible men, to make the basic views which give impulse and uplift to the cultural, political and social structure of the new state, a common spiritual good of the whole people, and at the same time, to demonstrate to the world abroad the spiritual framework of the new German national structure, in clear outline.

The editorial staff, the support obtained, and the collaboration of highly qualified contributors, guarantee the authoritative importance and the material reliability of the series. The publications reflect views, convictions and beliefs (born out of an intensified consciousness of nation and state, out of the irresistible strength of a great new national will to live) which are designed and meant to support the political and cultural objectives of the new Reich.

In November and December 1933, the following monographs were published:

Professor Dr. Karl Haushofer:	The National Socialist Idea in the World
Reichswirtschaftsminister (Minister for Economics) Dr. Kurt Schmitt:	Economics in the New Reich
Reichsbankdirektor, Dr. Franz Doering (Introduction by Reichsbankpräsident Dr. Schacht):	Gold or Paper?
Dr. Friedrich Burgdoerfer, Direktor beim Statistischer Reichsamt (Director, Reich Office for Statistics):	Are the White Peoples Dying?
Oberst (Colonel) a.D. von Gerbzen:	Germany without Security
Professor Paul Schmitthenner:	The Foundations of Architecture in the New Reich

H3258-0142

Document 20

At the beginning of 1934, the following monographs are to be published:

Dr. Franz Thierfelder (Deutsche Akademie):	German Culture Abroad
(Author not given)	Hitler's Foreign Policy
(Author not given)	What do the German Christians Want?
Staatsrat (State Councillor) Bishop Berning:	The German Catholics
(By various authors):	Is Germany a State under Law?
	The Nationalist Socialist Educator
	Hitler Youth
	Women in the Third Reich
	German Authors on the Pyre
	Germany Seen from Outside, etc.

Price per volume, unbound, MK - .60, .90, and 1.20.
For schools, institutes, etc.: 25 copies or more, 10 percent reduction
50 copies or more, 20 percent reduction

Georg D. W. Callway, Munich, Publisher.

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H3258-0144

DESCRIPTION

OF THE DEUTSCHES AUSLANDSINSTITUT, BY THE HEAD OF THE D.A.I. PROF. DR. RICHARD CSAKI, IN THE "FESTSCHRIFT ZUR AUSLANDLEHRER-TAGUNG IN STUTTGART, AUGUST 19 - 23, 1936".

"To work on foreign domiciled Germanism means creative participation in the development of the people as a whole. The position today is that, at the same time, all the values we draw from the life of our ethnic groups abroad may lead as a driving force into the main current of the parent people, and, conversely, the uniform attitude of Germany in the sphere of ethnic policy affects the whole life of foreign domiciled Germanism. In this sense the Deutsches Ausland-Institut of Stuttgart has come into the focus of the ethnic work of the German nation as a whole. It has become its principal task to bring the vital questions of foreign domiciled Germanism into a great harmony with the re-birth of the Motherland."...

"...Thus the Institute daily performs a mass of detail work in the outward direction as well. It is in direct, personal correspondence with thousands of fellow-nationals. Thousands receive from it information and advice, newspapers, books and pictures... However, it is important to note that this work with individuals cannot represent the final aim of the D.A.I. For these tasks there are other institutions and organizations. The D.A.I. must today be an organ for planning and a rallying point...

"The last few years have not only given the Institute an external impulse for the extension and increase of its equipment, but have also, above all, accomplished an inner re-adjustment. Since we have known of the tasks posed for foreign domiciled Germanism and therefore also for ethnic German work, in relation to the people as a whole, a new will to aliveness has entered the D.A.I. Everyone is aware that he is helping to shape a main plan. All the reports that get here from newspapers and periodicals, from books and letters, from all parts of foreign domociled Germanism, always present a picture of the intellectual, cultural, economic, and political situation of every ethnic German group, indeed, of the individual settlements abroad. However, the aim is not the picture itself; it immediately imposes the obligation to make this knowledge comprehensible to others, particularly to the organ whose it is to do practical work in the sphere concerned. Above all, the coincidence of all these reports presents.. the possibility of comparison. It is only when I am in a position to compare with each other the achievements, the economic and political situations and not least the environments of the different ethnic German groups and settlements, that I am able to deduce the directive principles... The great abundance of the material enables the D.A.I. to a special degree to exert an educative influence on the largest scale."

"The whole apparatus of the Institute are logically fittaed in with the series of tasks. The archives, which receive the journals, periodicals, reports and letters, is the great reception organ... A special branch of the Archive is the card index of the foreign domiciled German organizations... The extensive collections of the photographic and map section contribute to the greatest extent to the work of direct training and enlightment. The fact that last year more than a quarter of a million of photographs were lent for lectures, clearly reflects the far-ranging scope of this center."

Document 22.

FROM LEVY
LE GERMANISME A L 'ETRANGER p.126 Seqn.

"The aim of the D.A.I. is to study and encourage Germanism abroad from the cultural and economic point of view. It endeavors to maintain and strengthen the relations between Germans living abroad and their homeland. Conversely, it aids and advises those Germans who intend to settle abroad.... All Germans regardless of their citizenship, must know that the D.A.I. is the place where they can ask for aid and advice in all questions of culture, art, science and economy. (Prospectus published by the D.A.I.)

The library at present contains 50,000 volumes relating more or less closely to foreign domiciled Germanism...The files of the Institute are similarly unique. Each year they receive regularly more than 1,700 journals and periodicals, Reich German as well as foreign German... These may first be read in a reading room, then they go to increase a file of newspaper cuttings that will soon have reached No. 100,000. The file contains approximately 28,000 Statutes and programs of Associations for foreign domiciled Germanism, and lists are kept of all the German societies, clubs, schools and groups abroad, and also of those taking an interest in foreign domiciled Germanism in Germany itself (appr. 40,000). Other lists give the names and addresses of German newspapers abroad, of Reich diplomatic representatives in every corner of the globe, and also biographical notes on the most prominent Germans living abroad.

Another department of the Institute has more than 10,000 geographical maps and a large number of photographs and statues.

The periodical, Der Auslanddeutsche, published by the Institute, is the most complete and best edited periodical of the kind.

The Stuttgart Institute has issued several series of scientific publications...Another branch of its activity consists in supplying books to German libraries abroad. In recent years it has sent out an average of 4,000 vls. per annum...

The D.A.I. has organized special courses for students (Studentische Schulungswoche) and preparatory courses for teachers of both sexes intending to teach in German schools abroad.

Finally - and the Stuttgart Institute is particularly proud of this - it gives tens of thousands of items of information (35,000) in 1931) - of a scientific, legal and particularly of an economic character... It renders services not only to "Reichsdeutsche" leaving Germany, but also to "Auslandsdeutsche" wishing to come to the Reich. It acts as a benevolent intermediary between German firms in the Reich and abroad and is a veritable commercial and economic information bureau - all entirely free of charge..."

H3258-0145

Document 23.

From:

THE FOREIGN ORGANIZATION

OF THE

NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY

(Die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP)

By

Dr. Emil Ehrich, Gauamtsleiter

Personal Adviser to the Gauleiter of the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party

JUNKER UND DÜNNHAUPT VERLAG)
BERLIN
1937

. . . . . .

"'Now this homesickness of millions of foreign Germans has also found a symbolic outlet in the Reich: On August 27, 1936 the Führer designated Stuttgart as the "City of Foreign Germans" and the Gauleiter of the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP assumed the protection of this beautiful city, which also houses within its walls the German Foreign Institute (Deutsches Ausland-Institut), which works in hearty cooperation with the AO, and the "Memorial to German Achievement Abroad"'".

H3258-0146

Document 24.

History and Aim of the Foreign Organization

(Quoted from: "Jahrbuch der Auslandsorganisation der N.S.D.A.P. 1939):

...p. 29: The first National Socialist Party organs among foreign domiciled Germanism came into existence without aid from the homeland. They sprang from the need of our foreign domiciled German brethren to demonstrate their attachment to Adolf Hitler's freedom movement by joining the Nazi Party.

In the autumn of 1930, a few formerly foreign domiciled Germans met in Hamburg for the preliminaries relating to the founding of a service organ, which was effected through a decree of the Reich Leader of Organizations, dated May 1, 1931, the name being "Auslandsabteilung der Reichsleitung der NSDAP" and the head office in Hamburg. The same decree provided that every party staying abroad or who had transferred its permanent domicile there, must be registered with the "Auslandsabteilung (Foreign Department).

In addition to the unification of the existing National Socialist Alliance abroad, the year 1931 saw, as a result of toilsome detail work, the formation of numerous new centers and branches, which in 1932 necessitated the establishment of the first State branches. During the first few months after the accession to power, when the question arose whether the maintenance of a Foreign Department was justified or necessary at all, this organ was for a time designated as "Abteilung fuer Deutsche in Ausland bei der Obersten Leitung der Parteiorganisation" (Department for Germans Abroad in the Supreme Executive of the Party Organisation), until, on October 3, 1933, it was placed under the direct authority of the Deputy Fuehrer under its old name. Its Director, Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, who had headed it since May 8, 1933, was appointed to the staff of the Deputy Fuehrer with the rank of Gauleiter.

On February 17, 1934, the Deputy Fyehrer decreed the designation "Auslandsorganisation (A.O.) der N.S.D.A.P." The implementing directions stated: "Party members abroad are under the authority of the A.O. and must not be registered with German homeland Geus. The A.O. is the only competent service organ for all Party units abroad. Service correspondence of all Party organs with the Nazi Party organizations abroad will pass through the A.O. Specialist National Socialist units intended to draw Reich Germans living abroad into their activities, must do this only within the framework of the A.O."

In March 1935, the Foreign Organization transferred to Berlin.

The development of the organisational form of the A.O. was outwardly and provisionally concluded by a decree of Rudolf Hess, the Deputy Fuehrer, dated April 15, 1935, which turned a "Department of the Reichsleitung" into an independent Gau with the designation "Foreign Organization of the NSDAP" (Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP.).

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Document 25

Law concerning Compulsory Registration of German Citizens Abroad
February 3, 1938
(Reichsgesetzblatt, 1938. I)

With a view to the effective aggregation of German citizens abroad to foster their relations with the homeland, the Reich Government has decided upon the following law, which is hereby promulgated:

1) Every German staying within the area of a German Consulate for more than three months, must register with the Consulate concerned. In addition, he must report to the Consulate every change of address within the Consulate's area. When leaving the area of the Consulate permanently, he must report this to the Consulate.

2) Every German citizen who is a householder aboard, must make the reports provided in Section 1 on behalf of the infant members of his household.

3) . . . . . .

4) A German citizen, so long as he deliberately infringes the obligation to report consistently, and in a manner constituting a breach of the duty of loyalty to the People and Reich, may be deprived of German citizenship in accordance with existing laws.

5) A German citizen who infringes the obligation to report, deliberately, may be deprived of the protection of the Reich.

6) The professional Consuls and the elected Consuls specially authorized by the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs, shall conduct a register.

Führer and Reich Chancellor
ADOLF HITLER

Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs
NEURATH

Deputy of the Führer
HESS

Reich Minister of the Interior
FRICK

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Document 26

"WESTDEUTSCHER BEOBACHTER", JANUARY 1, 1937:
"MISSION OF STUTTGART", by Dr. Hans Toetter.

"...By this decree the official German representations in approximately sixty countries are supplemented by the States and local groups of the Foreign Organization, whose task it is, under the purposive leadership of Gauleiter Bohle, who grew up abroad, to spread the National Socialist ideology among all Reich Germans living abroad and to build up an ethnic community that will bridge all disagreements among foreign domiciled Germans as well."

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DOCUMENTS RELATING

to

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Document 27.

The "Deutsches Volksblatt", Porto Allegre, June 6, 1941, published the following decree of the Deputy Fuehrer from October 27, 1933:

Decree - (Strictly Confidential)

1). All questions relating to Germanism beyond the frontiers (frontier and foreign domiciled Germanism) and questions relating to the strengthening and unity of Germanism as a whole, together with all related matters within the Reich are under my authority and supervision.

2). As a consultative and executive organ I have appointed an

Ethnic German Council

which is headed by Dr. Haushofer, Professor of the University of Munich

Dr. Hans Steinacher, Berlin, will represent the Ethnic German Council as Secretary outwardly (nach aussen).

3). The Ethnic German Council will not appear in public.

Munich, October 27, 1933.

The Deputy of the Führer
R. Hess

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Document 28.

Order concerning the Introduction of a Certificate for Persons of German Origin in the Government General, October 29, 1941

(Verordnungsblatt fur das Generalgouvernement, 1941, No. 104, p.622)

By virtue of Section 5, subsection 1, of the decree of the Fuhrer of October 12, 1939 (RGBL. 1, p. 2077), I order:

SECTION 1. (1) A person of German origin, upon his own application or that of a German authority, may obtain through the county (or city) chief within whose jurisdiction he resides a certificate which establishes his German origin.

(2) Documentary proofs shall be submitted as to the facts stated in support of the application.

(3) The issuing authorities shall make the final decision after examination of the application and of the documents submitted.

SECTION 2. A person of German origin within the meaning of this order is one who has German antecedents but does not possess German nationality (Staatsangehorigkeit) or the identification card for Germans (Volkszugehorige) (Order concerning the introduction of an identification card for Germans in the Government General of January 26, 1940; VBI.GG. 1, p. 36).

SECTION 3. A non-German who is married to a German may also obtain upon his own application a certificate as specified in Section 1, if the marriage has not been terminated and if it has produced children who are still alive.

SECTION 4. (1) Any person who falsely obtains a certificate as specified in Section 1 shall be punished by penal servitude.

. . . . . .

SECTION 5. The administration of the Government General (Major Division of Interior Administration) shall make regulations to determine under what conditions persons who possess a certificate by virtue of this order may obtain the identification card for Germans in accordance with the order concerning the introduction of an identification card for Germans in the Government General of January 26, 1940 (VBI.GG. 1, p.36).

SECTION 6. The administration of the Government General (Major Division of Interior Administration) shall be empowered to issue administrative regulations for the enforcement of this order.

SECTION 7. This order shall become effective November 15, 1941.

Cracow, October 29, 1941.

FRANK
Governor General

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Document 29

Order concerning the Granting of Child Subsidies to Germans in the Government General, March 10, 1942.

(Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement, 1942, No. 23, p. 125. Text in part abbreviated by the translator).

By virtue of Section 5, subsection 1, of the decree of the Führer of October 12, 1939 (RGBl. 1, p. 2077), I order:

SECTION 1. The Purpose of Child Subsidies. For the relief of family expenses, child subsidies shall be granted to healthy and socially responsible German families in the Government General.

SECTION 2. The Amount of the Child Subsidy. The child subsidy shall amount to twenty zlotys per month for each child qualified for a subsidy.

SECTION 3. Persons Entitled to Subsidies. (1) The head of the household shall be entitled to receive the subsidy.

(2) The child subsidy must be granted if:

1. The head of the household is a German national (Staatsangerhöriger) or a person of German origin (Volkszugehöriger).

2. The household comprises at least three minor children.

3. The head of the household has his residence or usual dwelling-place in the Government General. If the head of the household also has a residence or usual dwelling in the German Reich (including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), he is entitled to subsidies in the Government General only if the center of the actual household administration lies in the Government General.

(3) (Conditions under which subsidies may be granted for fewer than three children).

(4) Child subsidies may also be granted to the head of a household who possesses a certificate of German origin under the order concerning the introduction of a certificate for persons of German origin in the Government General of October 29, 1941 (VBl.GG., p.622), if the German upbringing of all children is guaranteed and the conditions of subsection 2, Nos. 2 and 3, or of subsection 3 are fulfilled.

. . . . . .

SECTION 4. Children Qualified for Subsidies. (1) The following shall be qualified for subsidies:

1. In general, the third and each additional minor child which is a member of the household.

2. In the cases of Section 3, subsection 3, numbers 1 and 2, the first and each additional minor child which is a member of the household.

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3. In the cases of Section 3, subsection 3, number 3, the minor children adopted into the household.

(2) Children in the sense of this order are the issue of the head of the household, his stepchildren, his adopted children, his foster-children, and the issue of these persons, if they are of German or related blood.

SECTION 5. Household Membership. (Definitions and conditions).

SECTION 6. Authority. (Decisions rest with the county or city chiefs).

SECTION 7. Payment of Child Subsidies. (Payment is quarterly).

SECTION 8. Revocation . (County and city chiefs may revoke the subsidy).

SECTION 9. Objection. (Authorities of the National Socialist German Workers Party (N.S.D.A.P.) may register objections, upon which the county or city chief must act positively).

SECTION 10. Complaints. (Procedure for complaints against refusal, revocation, or suspension).

SECTION 11. Reclamation. (Procedure for recovery of subsidies improperly paid).

SECTION 12. Child Subsidy List. (Only N.S.D.A.P. authorities may see the list of recipients).

SECTION 13. (The claim to a subsidy shall not be negotiable, but may be applied to obligations to the Government General).

SECTION 14. (Subsidies shall not be counted as public grants).

SECTION 15. (Heads of households must report changes in their situation as regards subsidies).

SECTION 16. (First subsidies shall be paid for January, 1942).

SECTION 17. (The administration of the Government General, with N.S.D.A.P. authorities, may make further regulations).

Cracow, March 10, 1942.

FRANK
Governor General

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DOCUMENTS RELATING

to

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Document 3.

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS.

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Über den gesetzten Normen, die die Vielgestaltigkeit des Alltagslebens nie in lückenloser Vollständigkeit zu erfassen vermögen, steht ergänzend und klarstellend der Geist des Rechtes, wie er sich aus den Existenzbedingungen der Gemeinschaft, aus der beherrschenden Weltanschauung, dem nationalsozialistischen Gedankengute ergibt.

Mit den Arbeiten der Akademie für Deutsches Recht hat eine Epoche deutscher Rechtsforschung und Rechtsgestaltung begonnen. Das deutsche Recht soll dem Gemeinschaftsleben Inhalt und Weihe geben. Das deutsche Volk muß vor Zersetzung gehütet werden und das Recht die formale Schutzwehr gegen irgendwelches Aufkommen gefährdender Richtungen in Deutschland sein. Wie auf allen Gebieten des deutschen Lebens ist dem deutschen Volk durch die fortreißende Kraft der großen schöpferischen Ideen des Nationalsozialismus die Erkenntnis zum Gemeingut geworden, daß das deutsche Recht nationalsozialistisches Recht sein muß.

Die Akademie für Deutsches Recht soll Dienerin des nationalsozialistischen Rechtswollens sein und soll dazu beitragen, dem deutschen schöpferischen Geiste die Bahn freizumachen.

Dr. Hans Frank
Reichsjustizkommissar,
Präsident der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

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Aufgaben der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

Die Akademie für Deutsches Recht wird auf dem Wege zur Erneuerung des deutschen Rechts einen weit sichtbaren Markstein errichten. Es geht um kein geringeres als um den großen Gedanken, eine wissenschaftliche Zentralstelle zu schaffen für die Mitarbeit an der Umgestaltung und Fortbildung des deutschen Rechts im Sinne der Weltanschauung des neuen Reiches. Diesem Gedanken soll die Akademie für Deutsches Recht dienen.

Es handelt sich bei ihr nicht darum, die Zahl der reinen Forschungsstätten nach Art der altehrwürdigen deutschen Akademien zu vermehren. Es handelt sich ebensowenig darum, eine bloß organisatorische Zusammenfassung der deutschen rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Fakultäten zu schaffen, um die bisher getrennt verfolgten Lehr- und Forschungsaufgaben nunmehr in Gemeinschaft zu pflegen. Es handelt sich erst recht nicht darum, im Sinne der viel verspotteten deutschen Vereinsfreudigkeit zu den vielen über das ganze Reich verstreuten Fachgruppen, juristischen Zirkeln, Studiengesellschaften einen, sei es auch zusammenfassenden weiteren großen Juristenverein anzugliedern.

Es handelt sich um anderes, um mehr. Die Akademie für Deutsches Recht will sich als ein Gebilde von eigenartigem neuen Gepräge mitten hineinstellen in den Strom des deutschen Volks- und Staatslebens. Sie will ihren vollen Anteil übernehmen an den ernsten und verantwortungsvollen Aufgaben, die dem deutschen Volke durch seine neue Führung gestellt sind. Zu diesen Aufgaben gehört als eine der wichtigsten die Schaffung eines Rechtes, welches sich besinnt auf die Urkräfte der deutschen Volksseele und welches keinen anderen Gegenstand und keinen anderen Zielpunkt kennt, als das Wohl und die Größe des deutschen Volkes. An diesem Ziel werden viele Kräfte einmütig zu arbeiten haben: alle deutschdenkenden und -fühlenden Männer des Rechtes und der Wirtschaft.

Der Anteil der Akademie an dem Erneuerungswerke aber soll der sein, daß hier die grundlegenden Probleme des Rechtslebens, der Gesetzgebung, der Verwaltung und Rechtspflege von der höheren Warte allgemeiner Betrachtung und wissenschaftlicher Methode aus in Angriff genommen werden. Hier sollen Männer der Rechtswissenschaft prüfen, was aus dem Schatz alten deutschen Rechtsgutes wert ist, der Gegenwart erhalten oder wiedergegeben zu werden, was an wesensfremden Elementen aus unserem Rechte auszuschalten ist, aber auch, was aus den Erfahrungen anderer Völker für unser eigenes verwendbar erscheint. Vor allem soll die Wissenschaft wieder auf die Einfachheit, auf die Lebensnähe, auf die Volksverbundenheit des deutschen Rechtes bedacht sein und für die klaren und großlinigen Gedanken des Gemeinwohls und der Gerechtigkeit einen ebenso klaren und volkstümlichen Ausdruck suchen.

Soll aber die theoretische Betrachtung praktisch fruchtbar werden, so muß sie ergänzt und kontrolliert werden durch hervorragende Männer der juristischen Praxis. Darum sollen auch bedeutende Richter, Anwälte, Vertreter der öffentlichen Verwaltung, Rechtsberater aus Industrie und Handel in der Akademie ihren Platz finden. Schon in dieser oft geforderten, aber kaum je ernstlich verwirklichten Zusammenarbeit zwischen Theorie und Praxis liegt einer der hauptsächlichen Unterschiede zwischen der neuen Gründung und den Akademien alten Schlages. Ein zweiter fast noch bedeutsamerer ist dieser: jede Betrachtung des Rechtslebens aus dem Gesichtswinkel des reinen Juristen trägt die Gefahr der Einseitigkeit in sich. Darum schien es richtig, in die Akademie auch bedeutende Vertreter derjenigen Kreise zu berufen, deren Lebensverhältnisse Gegenstand der rechtlichen Regelung sein sollen, die sozusagen das Objekt der Gesetzgebung bilden. Ihre Aufgabe wird es sein, den wirtschaftlichen, sozialen, kulturellen Stoff an Bedürfnissen, Kritiken und Anregungen darzubieten, an welchem sich die formgebende normierende Arbeit der Juristen betätigen soll. So werden aus dem Gebiete des geistigen Lebens, namentlich aber auch aus den großen Wirtschaftszweigen bewährte Persönlichkeiten ihre Mitarbeit zur Verfügung stellen. Und da sich Recht und Wirtschaft gegenseitig lebendig durchdringen, ergänzen und bedingen, so wäre die Akademie unvollständig besetzt, wenn in ihrem Schoß nicht prominente Vertreter der theoretischen Volkswirtschaft Aufnahme fänden. Auf diese Weise werden die Beziehungen zwischen Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft enger geknüpft und fruchtbarer gestaltet. Endlich aber wird der Gedanke, daß letztlich die Akademie berufen ist, die Leiter des neuen Staates in ihrer Aufbauarbeit zu unterstützen, seinen Ausdruck in der Tatsache finden, daß eine Reihe von Führern des Staates und der ihn untermauernden Partei sich zu Mitgliedern der neuen Körperschaft bekennen.

Dies ist der Kreis der Mitglieder. Darüber hinaus ist die Akademie für Deutsches Recht auf die unterstützende Mitwirkung einer beträchtlich größeren Zahl von Mitarbeitern angewiesen, aus deren Reihen in Zukunft die ordentlichen Mitglieder der Akademie für Deutsches Recht gewählt werden sollen.

Die Mittel, durch welche die Akademie für Deutsches Recht ihre großen Aufgaben erreichen wird, sind folgende: Als ein Hauptmittel wird sie es ansehen, die gesetzgebenden Faktoren in ihren verantwortungsvollen Aufgaben zu unterstützen: durch Bereitstellung von tatsächlichem und rechtlichem Material, durch Vermittlung von wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Arbeitskräften, durch Hinweis auf geeignete Fachmänner, vor allem aber durch Anregung oder Begutachtung von Gesetzentwürfen, Verwaltungs- und sonstigen Maßnahmen auf den verschiedensten Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens. Hier kann es den Führern des neuen Staates nicht unerwünscht sein, in der beratenden Mitwirkung der Akademie einen gewissen Ersatz zu finden für die in den Hintergrund getretenen Funktionen der Parlamente, und auf das große Kapital an theoretischen Kenntnissen, an geschichtlichem Überblick, an allgemeinen Ideen, an methodischer Schulung, an aufgesammelten Erfahrungen des Lebens und der Praxis zurückzugreifen, wie es sich in der Akademie und ihren Mitarbeitern verkörpern soll.

Da aber Institutionen weniger wichtig sind als Menschen, wird es sich die Akademie weiter angelegen sein lassen, mitzuwirken an einer grundlegenden Reform der Ausbildung unserer künftigen Rechts-

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und Wirtschaftsträger. Es wird daran gedacht werden müssen, die künftigen Juristen mit den Haupttatsachen der Volkswirtschaft, die künftigen Wirtschaftsführer mit den Grundlagen des Rechtes besser vertraut zu machen als bisher, und vielleicht entwickelt sich aus dieser gegenseitigen Durchdringung ein Persönlichkeitstypus, der für den Staat, die Gemeinden, die großen Betriebe der Privatwirtschaft sich als besonders brauchbar erweisen wird. Wichtig wird es auch sein, junge Begabungen von Anbeginn ab nicht bloß durch platonisches Wohlwollen, sondern durch tatkräftige materielle Unterstützung zu fördern: durch Verleihung von Stipendien, aber auch durch Übertragung von dankbaren Aufgaben, nicht zum mindesten auch durch persönliche Betreuung, Beratung und Unterbringung. Und vielleicht ist die Hoffnung nicht zu kühn, daß im Laufe der Jahre die Akademie zu einer Schutzpatronin werde für einen ganzen Stab tüchtiger junger Männer, die dem Staate für größere Aufgaben zur Verfügung gestellt werden können. Die Beziehungen zwischen der Akademie und den führenden Männern der Wissenschaft und Praxis des Rechtes und der Wirtschaft auf der einen Seite zu der heranwachsenden jungen Generation auf der anderen werden es auch ermöglichen, dem Staate, den Gemeinden, den Kreisen des Handels und der Industrie, den Hochschulen und sonstigen Bildungsanstalten auf Verlangen geeignete Kräfte für die Stellenbesetzung nachzuweisen.

Selbstverständlich ist ferner, daß sich die Akademie dafür einsetzen wird, die noch bestehenden längst überholten Verschiedenheiten der Ausbildung in den einzelnen Ländern restlos verschwinden zu lassen. Wichtiger aber als alle äußere Regelung wird das sachliche Ziel sein, das kostbarste Gut des neuen Deutschland, seine Jugend, im Sinne harmonischen Ausgleichs der Willens- und der Geisteskräfte, des Charakters und des Verstandes, der seelischen und der körperlichen Fähigkeiten heranzuziehen. Die angehenden Juristen und Volkswirtschaftler werden zwar durch das unübertreffliche Erziehungsmittel strenger Denkzucht und wissenschaftlicher Methoden hindurchgeführt werden, dürfen aber keine blaßen Theoretiker, sondern müssen wirklichkeitsnahe Willensmenschen sein, mit offenem Blick in das pulsierende Leben der Wirtschaft und der Kultur, mit brüderlicher Liebe für den kleinsten unter ihren deutschen Mitmenschen, aber auch mit der stahlharten Entschlossenheit zu jedem Opfer für das Ganze. Diesem Ideal zu dienen, wird ein Hauptbestreben der Akademie für Deutsches Recht werden.

Des weiteren wird die Akademie Wert darauf legen müssen, eine Sammel- und Durchgangsstelle zu werden für Wünsche und Fragen aus dem Volke, für die Kritik des Rechtslebens, für wertvolle Anregungen aus den verschiedensten Kreisen, für Wünsche nach Abstellung von Mißständen in Rechtsprechung und Verwaltung. Insofern soll sie eine gewisse Kontrollfunktion über das Rechtsleben übernehmen: sie soll etwas werden wie das juristische Gewissen des deutschen Volkes.

Durch diese praktischen Aufgaben wird sie sich zwar von den alten Akademien unterscheiden. Aber sie wird von diesen zu übernehmen suchen das hohe geistige Niveau, die strengen Anforderungen an die Qualität der Leistung, die Gewissenhaftigkeit der Arbeitsmethode, den unbestechlichen Drang zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit, die wissenschaftliche Verantwortung, vor allem die entsagungsvolle Hingabe an die Sache um ihrer selbst willen. Und sie wird es versuchen, ihrer Bezeichnung als Akademie auch dadurch Ehre zu machen, daß sie große wissenschaftliche Unternehmungen teils selbst ins Leben ruft, teils unterstützt, daß sie Einzelarbeiten anregt und materiell fördert, daß sie die vielfach verstreuten Bestrebungen juristischer und wirtschaftlicher Zeitschriften und Sammelwerke, Vereinigungen, Vortragsunternehmungen, Lehrkurse unter einheitlichen und großzügigen Gesichtspunkten zweckmäßig organisiert, daß sie zwecks Vermeidung unnützer Arbeitsverzettelung größere wissenschaftliche Forschungsaufgaben auf die jeweils geeigneten Bearbeiter systematisch verteilt, daß sie Lehrgänge veranstaltet, und was dergleichen Aufgaben mehr sind.

Schließlich wird die Akademie als die erste große zusammenfassende Organisation aller wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Kräfte auf dem Gebiete des Rechts und der Volkswirtschaft die gegebene Mittlerin sein für die Pflege der Beziehungen zu gleichartigen Organisationen des Auslandes und so zu ihrem Teile dazu beitragen, dem gegenwärtig anscheinend mit Blindheit geschlagenen Auslande die Augen darüber zu öffnen, daß unser neuer Staat kein Feind, sondern ein Förderer der Weltkultur und des friedlichen Zusammenarbeitens der Nationen sein wird.

Das soll die Akademie für Deutsches Recht positiv sein. Sie will nicht sein ein Faktor der Gesetzgebung, sondern nur eine Beraterin des Gesetzgebers, deren Gewicht auf nichts anderem als auf dem Wert der eigenen Leistung beruhen soll. Sie will nicht sein eine weltfremde Gelehrtenzunft, sondern eine in Volk und Leben verwurzelte und für Volk und Leben praktisch nutzbare Einrichtung. Sie will nicht sein eine Vereinigung von feierlichen Bonzen, sondern eine Genossenschaft demütiger Diener am Werk. Sie will auch nicht eine Sonderangelegenheit irgendeines Standes, vielmehr im Gegenteil eine gesamtdeutsche Einrichtung darstellen, die durch Zusammenfassung von Männern aller Stände und aller Stämme eine weitere feste Klammer im Baugefüge des einheitlichen deutschen Reiches sein soll.

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Gegründet von Ferdinand Avenarius

Herausgegeben von Hermann Rinn

Unter den Zeitschriften, die beim Neubau des deutschen kulturellen Lebens wertvolle Hilfe leisten können, darf die „Deutsche Zeitschrift" mit in erster Linie genannt werden. Seit Jahrzehnten hat sie sich unter ihrem alten, weithin bekannten und geschätzten Namen „Der Kunstwart" durch ihre deutschbewußte Kultur- und Kunstpflege das feste Vertrauen weiter Kreise erworben. Der „Kunstwart" war es, der zum ersten Male die zu einem Kampfruf gewordene Forderung nach „Ausdruckskultur auf allen Lebensgebieten" erhob, d. h. die Forderung, daß jede künstlerische und kulturelle Form ehrlich und sachlich den vollkommenen natürlichen Ausdruck ihres inneren Gehaltes bilden müsse. In allen kulturellen Erscheinungen das Echte, wirklich Werthaltige und Bleibende zu erkennen und zu fördern, war und ist heute noch eine der Grundaufgaben des „Kunstwarts" und der „Deutschen Zeitschrift" und gibt ihr das eigene deutsche Gepräge. Mit dieser deutsch-ethischen Grundhaltung fügt sich die Arbeit der „Deutschen Zeitschrift" wie selbstverständlich dem kulturellen Willensplan des nationalen deutschen Umschwungs ein. Auch die auf dem gleichen Gesinnungsgrunde seit einigen Jahren von der „Deutschen Zeitschrift" aufgenommene politische Bildungsarbeit bedurfte keiner Gleichschaltung mehr. Auch hier kann es nur die Aufgabe der „Deutschen Zeitschrift" sein: in Verfolgung ihrer durch die deutsche Erneuerung in ihrer ewigen deutschen Gültigkeit bestätigten Ziele mitzuarbeiten an der Befestigung der kulturellen Grundlagen des neuen Staates und darüber hinaus eine Plattform zu bieten, von der aus auch fruchtbare, von Liebe und Vertrauen getragene Kritik vernommen werden kann.

Jedes Heft bringt Aufsätze aus den verschiedensten Gebieten unseres kulturellen, politischen und sozialen Lebens, ferner Proben deutscher Dichtung, abgeschlossene Erzählungen usw., dazu mehrere Bilder. Die Deutsche Zeitschrift kostet im Vierteljahr 4 Mark und ist durch jede Buchhandlung zu beziehen.

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Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung, deren Grundgedanken immer mehr Anhänger unter den Völkern der Erde gewinnen, kämpft in Deutschland nach Eroberung der politischen Macht noch leidenschaftlich um die entschiedene und freudige Anerkenntnis durch Herz und Verstand auch des letzten Volksgenossen, ringt noch um die endgültigen Formen, die er dem staatlichen und sozialen Leben aufprägen will. Die nichtdeutsche Welt aber, die sich zum Teil in völlig andersgearteter politischer Daseinslage befindet, steht der gewaltigen deutschen Volkheitserneuerung mit ängstlichem Befremden, ja mit Feindseligkeit gegenüber und vermag die geistig-ethischen Hintergründe der weltumformenden deutschen Wende nicht zu durchdringen.

Da unternimmt es die „Deutsche Akademie", jenes auch über Deutschlands Grenzen hinaus bekannte Institut „zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums", unter Billigung und persönlicher Anteilnahme des Stellvertreters des Führers, Rudolf Heß, in einer „Das Neue Reich" betitelten Schriftenreihe die grundlegenden Anschauungen, die dem kulturellen, politischen und sozialen Aufbau des neuen Staates Antrieb und Auftrieb verleihen, in knappen, gemeinverständlichen Einzeldarstellungen aus der Feder führender und verantwortlicher Männer zum geistigen Gemeingut des ganzen Volkes zu machen und zugleich dem Ausland das geistige Gerüst des deutschen völkischen Neubaus in klaren Linien aufzuzeigen.

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Akademie für Deutsches Recht

Jahrbuch

Herausgeber: Dr. Hans Frank

1. Jahrgang 1933/34

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Satzung der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

Auf Antrag des Reichsleiters der Rechtsabteilung der NSDAP. Dr. Frank erläßt die Bayerische Staatsregierung zur Förderung der Neugestaltung des deutschen Rechtslebens in Anwendung folgendes

Gesetz:

Einziger Artikel.

Auf Antrag des Reichsleiters der Rechtsabteilung der NSDAP. Dr. Frank werden der von ihm am 26. Juni 1933 gegründeten Akademie für Deutsches Recht die Rechte einer Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechtes verliehen. Ihre Rechtsverhältnisse bestimmen sich nach der diesem Gesetz als Anlage beigegebenen Satzung.

Satzung.

Die Satzung der Akademie für Deutsches Recht wird nachstehend bekanntgegeben:

§ 1.

Die „Akademie für Deutsches Recht" ist eine Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechtes. Sie hat die Rechte einer juristischen Person und ihren vorläufigen Sitz in München.

§ 2.

Aufgabe der Akademie für Deutsches Recht ist, die Neugestaltung des deutschen Rechtslebens zu fördern und in enger dauernder Verbindung mit den für die Gesetzgebung zuständigen Stellen das nationalsozialistische Programm auf dem gesamten Gebiete des Rechtes und der Wirtschaft zu verwirklichen.

Dieser Zweck soll in Anwendung bewährter wissenschaftlicher Methoden erreicht werden.

Im einzelnen ist der Wirkungskreis der Akademie für Deutsches Recht vor allem

1. die Anregung, Begutachtung, Vorbereitung und Ausarbeitung von Gesetzentwürfen,
2. die Neugestaltung und Vereinheitlichung der rechts- und staatswissenschaftlichen Ausbildung,
3. die Herausgabe und Unterstützung wissenschaftlicher Veröffentlichungen,

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4. die finanzielle Förderung von praktischen wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, die der Erforschung von Sondergebieten des Rechtes und der Wirtschaft dienen,
5. die Veranstaltung von wissenschaftlichen Tagungen und die Einrichtung von Lehrkursen,
6. die Pflege der Beziehungen zu gleichgerichteten Einrichtungen des Auslands.

§ 3.

Führer der Akademie ist der Leiter der Rechtsabteilung der Reichsleitung der NSDAP.

§ 4.

Dem Führer obliegen:

1. die gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Vertretung,
2. die innere Leitung, insbesondere die Festsetzung und Verteilung der einzelnen Aufgaben einschließlich der Vermögensverwaltung,
3. die Entscheidung über die Aufnahme und das Ausscheiden der Mitglieder,
4. die Bestellung seines Vertreters, des Führerstabs und des Schatzmeisters aus der Zahl der Mitglieder,
5. die Bestellung der Abteilungsleiter,
6. die Vornahme von Satzungsänderungen,
7. die Entscheidung über die Auflösung der Akademie im Einvernehmen mit dem Führer der NSDAP.

Bei Verhinderung des Führers werden seine Aufgaben von dem Stellvertreter wahrgenommen.

§ 5.

Die Akademie umfaßt:

1. ordentliche,
2. außerordentliche,
3. fördernde,
4. korrespondierende

Mitglieder.

§ 6.

Die Mitglieder werden auf die Dauer von vier Jahren ernannt.
Die Mitglieder werden Fachabteilungen zugeteilt.
Die Zahl der ordentlichen Mitglieder soll zweihundert nicht übersteigen.
Die Mitglieder sind berufen, an den Veranstaltungen der Akademie teilzunehmen und nach näherer Anordnung des Führers an der Verfolgung der Ziele der Akademie für Deutsches Recht mitzuwirken.

§ 7.

Im Falle der Auflösung der Akademie für Deutsches Recht ist ihr Vermögen in einer ihren Zwecken entsprechenden Weise zu verwenden.

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§ 8.

Die Akademie für Deutsches Recht steht unter der Aufsicht des Staates, der die Aufsicht durch das Staatsministerium der Justiz ausübt.

§ 9.

Die erforderlichen weiteren Bestimmungen, insbesondere auch über die Beiträge der Mitglieder, erläßt der Führer der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

München, den 26. 6. 1933.

Dr. Hans Frank

Reichsjustizkommissar,
Führer
der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

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Bylaws of the Academy for German Law

Upon the recommendation of Dr. Frank, the Reich Leader of the Legal Section of the NSDAP, and in order to promote the reshaping of German legal practice, the Bavarian State Government issues the following

LAW:

ONLY ARTICLE

Upon the recommendation of Dr. Frank, the Reich Leader of the Legal Section of the NSDAP, the rights of a Corporation of Public Law are hereby bestowed upon the Academy of German Law, which was founded by him on June 26, 1933. Its legal relationships shall be regulated in accordance with the bylaws appended to this Law:

BYLAWS

The bylaws of the Academy for German Law are as follows:

Section 1.

The "Academy for German Law" is a Corporation of Public Law. It has the rights of a legal person, and its legal site is temporarily in Munich.

Section 2.

It is the duty of the Academy for German Law to promote the reshaping of the legal life of Germany, and to fulfil the National Socialist program in the entire realm of Law and Economy, in close and permanent cooperation with the competent legislative agencies.

This aim shall be attained by accepted scientific methods.

The sphere of action of the Academy for German Law be primarily and particularly as follows:

1. To propose, examine, draw up, and elaborate bills;
2. To reorganize and unify education in law and in political economy;
3. To publish and support scientific publications;
4. To give financial assistance to practical scientific labors which are useful to research in the specialized fields of Law and Economy;
5. To hold scientific conventions and to establish educational courses;
6. To cultivate relations with similar institutions in foreign countries.

Section 3.

The Leader of the Academy is the Chief of the Legal Section of the National Directorate of the NSDAP.

Section 4.

The duties of the Leader are:

1. Legal and extra-legal representation of the Academy;

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2. Internal management, and particularly the determination and distribution of the various duties to be performed, including the administration of property;

3. The making of decisions concerning the acceptance and the expulsion of members;

4. To appoint from among the members a deputy Leader, a Leader's staff, and a treasurer;

5. To appoint Section Leaders;

6. To make changes in the bylaws;

7. To decide as to the dissolution of the Academy, in agreement with the Fuehrer of the NSDAP.

In case the Leader should be unable to fulfill his duties, they shall be carried out by his deputy.

Section 5.

The Academy shall consist of the following classes of members:

1. Regular

2. Special

3. Sustaining

4. Corresponding

Section 6.

Members shall be appointed for four years.

Members shall be assigned to special sections.

The number of regular members shall not exceed two hundred.

The members are obliged to participate in the operations of the Academy, and to cooperate, in accordance with definite assignments from the Leader, in achieving the aims of the Academy for German Law.

Section 7.

In case the Academy for German Law should be dissolved, its property shall be utilized in a manner corresponding to its objectives.

Section 8.

The Academy for German Law shall be under the supervision of the State, which shall exercise such supervision through the State Ministry of Justice.

Section 9.

Further regulations, particularly concerning the dues of members, shall be issued by the Leader of the Academy for German Law.

Munich, June 26, 1933.

Dr. H a n s F r a n k

Reich Commissioner of Justice,
Leader
of the Academy for German Law.

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Document 35.

Rechtsboden und Wehrgesinnung.

(Wehrgeist und Wehrgeopolitik zwischen Rechtsboden und Volksseelenstimmung.)

Von Universitätsprofessor **Dr. K. Haushofer,** Generalmajor a. D.

Mitglied der Akademie für Deutsches Recht.

Vom verstiegensten Dichterwort bis zum nüchternsten Rechtswahrerspruch ließen sich tausende von Zeugnissen für die Weite der Kluft anführen, die Wehrgeist und Wehrgeopolitik eines Volkes — beide notwendig Hand in Hand gehend — zwischen Rechtsboden und Wehrgesinnung der Völker zu überbrücken haben.

Wie aber können sie das? Wo findet, wer diesen Zweck entweder vom Rechtsboden her oder vom Wehrwissen und der Wehrgeopolitik aus, verfolgt, die führenden Wegmarken, wo die wenigen guten, wo die vielen Fehlbeispiele, die zeigen, wie man das Wachstum von Wehrgesinnung auf dem Rechtsboden fördern kann, weit öfter, wie man es gefährdet?

Aus dieser Frage erwächst auch an einer so streng nur dem Rechtskenner und Rechtswahrer vorbehaltenen Stelle dem Laien die ausnahmsweise Befugnis, mit wehrgeopolitischen Erfahrungen zum Bau von Pfeilern für diese Überbrückung beizutragen.

Denn ohne weiteres wird klar, wie riesenstark die Stellung einer staatlichen Lebensform wird, wenn ein tragfähiger, mit uns geborener, aus unserm Volkstum erwachsener Rechtsboden als Kraftfeld ermöglicht, daß Geistiges und Körperliches am Wehrwesen: Wehrgeist und Wehrgeopolitik zugleich im Sinne einer hochgemuten Volksseelenstimmung auf denselben Kraftlinien schwingen, wie sehr aber auch Gegenbewegungen statt gleichgeschalteter gerade hier die Lebensleistung einer Volkheit im Kampf ums Dasein schwächen müssen.

Ganz sicher des Einen, völlig gefeit vor dem Andern aber ist keine, noch so stark scheinende Lebensform auf Erden: kein Reich und kein Volk.

Wenn wir ganz von den Zerrungen und Belastungen absehen, die etwa zwischen rotem und weißem Russentum von 1917 bis heute der Wehrpolitik Eurasiens Schaden tun, die zwischen dem Sturz der Monarchie und dem Bürgerkrieg von 1935 Spaniens Wehrleistung herabdrücken, zeigt uns blitzartig die Aschermittwochs-Meuterei in Japan 1935, welche Spannungen erdbebengewaltig selbst innerhalb scheinbar festgefügter Mächte aufreißen können, deren Boden in zweieinhalb Jahrtausenden kein Feind, außer an Rändern, betrat, die stolz auf eine Kriegsherrnreihe von 124 Männern derselben Familienfolge sind und von sich glauben, daß ein Geschwistergefühl (Dobo) jede Klassenscheidungsgefahr in ihren Reihen ausschließe.

Gerade diesen Fall aber suchen wir uns aus, um die Notwendigkeit innerlicher Einrichtung der Volksseele auf solche Schwankungen ihres Rechtsbodens mit allen augenblicklichen Gefahren für ihren Wehrgeist und ihre Wehrgeopolitik zu beweisen, damit sie lerne, gerade gegenüber Stimmungsumschwüngen in solchen Fällen gefeit (immun) zu sein und zu bleiben, oder — wenn sie noch nicht so weit ist — unberührbar, unerschütterlich zu werden.

Man erinnere sich der Leitzüge dieses einzigartigen praktischen Falles: ein ungewöhnlich einheitliches, naturbegünstigtes Volk, von glühendem Wehrgeist und Geltungsbedürfnis durchdrungen, aber in seinen Großstädten doch schon stark von internationalistischen, pazifistischen Einflüssen angenagt, sieht sich vor dem Zwang, aber fast vor der wirtschaftlichen Unmöglichkeit, den hochgespannten Forderungen seiner Wehrgeopolitik in seinem ungeheuren Volksdruck zu genügen. Der verfassungsmäßige Rechtsboden reicht mit seiner Tragweite für die Größe der Opfer nicht aus. Stärkste volkspolitische Erneuerungskräfte des Widerhalls in der Volksseele sicher, in jüngeren Schichten des Heeres stimmungsmäßig besonders lebendig, versuchen die vorsichtigen Staatslenker mit Gewalt zu ihren weitgehenden Forderungen herüberzureißen. Der Ausbruch erfolgt am 26. Febr. 1936. Der älteste Staatsrechtsboden der Erde schien zu brechen, nachdem er mehr als zehn Dutzend Geschlechtsfolgen lang der Stolz eines von außen unbesiegten Volkes gewesen war, und zwar gerade von seinen Wehrträgern aus, die behaupteten, im Namen der wahren Stimmung der Volksseele und dennoch kaisertreu zu handeln. Wir haben eine farbenplastische Schilderung der äußeren Ereignisse im Heft 5 der Geopolitik von einem Augenzeugen gebracht. Darin fehlt nur das dramatische Moment des in die Bucht von Tokio gefechtsbereit hereindampfenden ersten Geschwaders der Flotte, des Stolzes des Sonnenaufgangsreiches, das sonst als „claustrum imperii" in der Gardemarinestation von Yokosuka bereit liegt, und durch sein Erscheinen vor der Hauptstadt die Mißbilligung der Marine für die Methoden und Eigenmächtigkeiten unterer Landheerführer zum Ausdruck brachte, bei aller Sympathie für die allgemeinen Gedankengänge der Aufständischen, die ja durch die Politisierung der Armee seit 1931 hochgezüchtet waren.

Vier Tage nach dem Erdbebenstoß war der Rechtsboden wieder hergestellt, scheinbar völlig in der alten Form, aber dennoch ein anderer. Durch das persönliche Opfer der beteiligten Jugend war der Volksseelenstimmung, die sie vertrat, zum Durch-

H3258-0173

Document 37

Zeitschrift der Akademie für Deutsches Recht

Herausgeber:
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Dr. Hans Frank

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1. Jahrgang **München, August/September 1934** **Heft 3**

Der Führer und Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler

hat die Akademie für Deutsches Recht

durch Reichsgesetz vom 11. Juli 1934

zur öffentlichen Körperschaft des Reiches

erhoben.

Das Vertrauen und die Anerkennung, die darin zum Ausdruck kommen, sind uns Ansporn und Verpflichtung zugleich, unermüdlich weiterzuschaffen an dem großen Werk der nationalsozialistischen Rechtserneuerung.

Dr. Hans Frank
Präsident der Akademie für Deutsches Recht

Document 37

Gesetz über die Akademie für Deutsches Recht. Vom 11. Juli 1934.

Wir bringen nachstehend den Wortlaut des Reichsgesetzes vom 11. Juli 1934, durch das die Akademie für Deutsches Recht öffentliche Körperschaft des Reiches wurde (RGBl. I S. 605 ff.).

Die Reichsregierung hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1.

Die Akademie für Deutsches Recht, bisher eine Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts in Bayern, wird eine öffentliche Körperschaft des Reichs.

Die Akademie hat eigene Rechtspersönlichkeit. Ihr Sitz ist München.

§ 2.

Aufgabe der Akademie ist, die Neugestaltung des deutschen Rechtslebens zu fördern und in enger dauernder Verbindung mit den für die Gesetzgebung zuständigen Stellen das nationalsozialistische Programm auf dem gesamten Gebiete des Rechts zu verwirklichen.

§ 3.

Die Akademie steht unter der Aufsicht der Reichsminister der Justiz und des Innern.

§ 4.

Der Präsident der Akademie wird vom Reichskanzler berufen und entlassen. Das Amt des Präsidenten ist ein Ehrenamt.

Der Präsident vertritt die Akademie gerichtlich und außergerichtlich.

§ 5.

Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Akademie bestimmen sich, soweit nicht dieses Gesetz Vorschriften darüber enthält, nach der diesem Gesetz als Anlage beigegebenen Satzung.

Berlin, den 11. Juli 1934.

Der Reichskanzler:
Adolf Hitler.

Der Reichsminister der Justiz:
Dr. Gürtner.

Anmerkung der Schriftleitung: Die Satzung der Akademie, die im Anschluß an dieses Gesetz veröffentlicht wurde, wird in der nächsten Nummer der Zeitschrift mitgeteilt.

Voranzeige

In Heft 4 der Zeitschrift erscheint:

Die Denkschrift des Reichsministeriums für Erziehung und Unterricht zur Reform des juristischen Studiums.

Von Reichsminister Rust.

H3258-0174

Document 36

LEGAL SYSTEM AND FIGHTING SPIRIT

(THE MILITARY SPIRIT AND MILITARY GEOPOLITICS IN RELATION TO THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND NATIONAL SPIRIT.)

By Dr. K. Haushofer, Brigadier General retired, University Professor.

Member of the German Academy of Law.

(Zeitschrift der Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht, No. 19/20-1936-p. 900)

The wide gulf betwe n existing legal system and the fighting spirit of a nation, to be bridged by the military spirit and the military Geopolitics of a nation - both of which must go necessarily hand in hand - has been cited thousands of times by the loftiest poetical expressions as well as by the most sober legal opinion.

But how can this be achieved? In pursuing this aim, beginning either from the legal system or from military science and from military politics, where can one find the guiding milestones, where the few successes and many failures - which will show how to promote the growth of the fighting spirit in the legal system; or more often, how it can be endangered?

Out of this question there arises the exceptional privilege for the layman to help in building the pillars for this bridge by military Geopolitical experiences, in a sphere which was formerly strictly reserved for the scholars and practicians of the law.

For it is obviously clear that position, life and existence of a state become gigantically strong if a native legal foundation, capable of support and grown out of our own national entity, serving as a basis of strength, is to bring forth the mental and physical capacity for military organization; so that the military fighting spirit and military Geopolitics will be perfectly coordinated along the same dynamic line; the dangers of countermovements instead of coordination, which may try to weaken national achievements and will to power in this struggle for survival, are equally obvious.

H3258-0175

LAW
Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht, Munich
(Academy of German Law)

Law concerning the Academy of German Law, date July 11, 1934.
(translation)

Section 1.

The Academy of German Law, hitherto a corporation of public law in Bavaria, becomes a public corporation of the Reich. The Academy is a legal entity. Its seat is Munich.

Section 2.

The task of the Academy is to promote the reconstruction of German legal life, and to realize, in constant close collaboration with the competent legislative organs, the National Socialist program in the entire sphere of the law.

Section 3.

The Academy is under supervision of the Reich Ministers of Justice and of the Interior.

Section 4.

The President of the Academy shall be appointed and dismissed by the Reich Chancellor; The Office of President is an honorary office.

Section 5.

The legal relationships of the Academy, insofar as the present Law contains no provisions, are determined by the Statute annexed as a supplement to the present law.

ADOLF HITLER
The Reich Chancellor

DR. GUERTNER
The Reich Minister of Justice

H3258-0176

(Quoted from: "Voelkischer Beobachter", June 18, 1943):

On June 26, 1943, the Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht will be ten years old.

In this connection the Reich Minister of Justice, Dr. Thierack, President of the Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht, has published an article on the importance of this institution and on the aim of National Socialist legislation. The Academy - as emphasized by the Minister - has in these ten years become the focus of the work of shaping German legislation.

In addition to the section for influencing German legislation, there is another section for law research. This section devotes itself mainly to the history of methodology and research into law and economics.

H3258-0177

H3258-0178

Decree of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor concerning the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

March 16, 1939

(Reichgesetzblatt, 1939, I, No. 47)

The Bohemian-Moravian countries belonged for a millennium to the living space of the German people. Violence and want of judgment have torn them arbitrarily from their old, historic environment and finally created, through their inclusion in the artificial structure of Czechoslovakia, a center of continuous unrest. Year after year the danger increased that out of this area - as once before in the past - would arise a new, stupendous menace to European peace. For the Czechoslovak State and its rulers had not succeeded in organizing in a reasonable manner the coexistence of the national groups arbitrarily comprised within it, and thus they failed to awaken and to preserve the interest of all concerned in the maintenance of the state common to them. Thereby this state has demonstrated its inherent inability to exist and therefore now has fallen into actual dissolution.

The German Reich cannot tolerate everlasting disturbances in these areas, areas so decisively essential not only to its own peace and security but also to the general welfare and the general peace. Sooner or later the German Reich would have had to suffer the most serious consecuences because it is the power which is most vitally interested and concerned by history as well as by geographical position. It is therefore only an act of compliance with the law of self-preservation if the German Reich is resolved to take decisive action for the re-establishment of the foundations of a Central European Order based on reason and to resort to measures impelled by this aim. For the millennial historic past of the German Reich has proven that it alone is chosen by virtue of its greatness and the qualities of the German people to solve this problem.

Imbued with the earnest desire to serve the true interests of the nations settled in this living space, to safeguard the national life of the German and Czech nations, to promote peace and the social welfare of all, I therefore order, in the name of the German Reich, the following as foundations on which the inhabitants of these areas can live side by side in the future:

ARTICLE I. (1) The territories of the erstwhile Czechoslovak Republic, occupied by the German Armies in March, 1939, are hereby incorporated into the territory of the Greater German Reich and are placed under its protection as the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia."

(2) In so far as the defense of the Reich requires it, the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor may issue, for specified areas of these territories, orders at variance with these articles.

ARTICLE 2. (1) The residents of the Protectorate of German origin are hereby declared to be German nationals and German citizens, in accordance with the provisions of the Reich Nationality Code (Reichsbürgergesetz) of September 15, 1935 (RGBl, I, p. 1146). Therefore, the provisions for the protection of German blood and German honor shall apply to them. They shall be subject to the jurisdiction of German courts.

(2) The other residents of Bohemia and Moravia are hereby declared to be citizens of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

ARTICLE 3. (1) The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia is declared to be autonomous and shall govern itself.

(2) It shall exercise the sovereign rights to which it is entitled within the framework of the Protectorate in conformity with the political, military, and economic interests of the Reich.

(3) The Protectorate shall exercise these sovereign rights through its own political agencies, authorities, and officials.

H3258-0179

ARTICLE 4. The head of the autonomous administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia shall be entitled to the protection and the full honors of the head of a sovereign government. The head of the Protectorate must enjoy, in the exercise of his high office. the confidence of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor.

ARTICLE 5. (1) The Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor will appoint as a guardian of the interests of the Reich a "Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia". His official residence shall be in Prague.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Reich Protector, as representative of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor and as the agent of the Government of the Reich, to assure compliance with the political instructions issued by the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor.

(3) The members of the government of the Protectorate shall hold office subject to confirmation by the Reich Protector. A confirmation made may be later revoked.

(4) The Reich Protector may demand information concerning all acts of the government of the Protectorate and may offer his counsel to the government. He may protest against measures which may be harmful to the Reich, and in cases of emergency, may take all steps necessary to the common welfare.

(5) The publication of statutes, orders, and other general rules and regulations, and the enforcement of administrative of administrative measures and execution of judicial decisions which have become final, shall be suspended upon notice of protest given by the Reich Protector.

ARTICLE 6. (1) The foreign affairs of the Protectorate, especially the protection of its citizens abroad, shall be entrusted to the Reich. The Reich shall take charge of the foreign affairs in such manner as shall conform with the common interest of both countries.

(2) The Protectorate shall have a representative with the Government of the Reich officially designated as Minister.

ARTICLE 7. (1) The Reich shall extend military protection to the Protectorate.

(2) For the purpose of extending such protection the Reich shall maintain garrisons and military establishments in the Protectorate.

(3) The Protectorate may establish its own units for the maintenance of home security and protection. The Government of the Reich shall determine the form of organization, the number of the forces, and the armament to be employed.

ARTICLE 8. The Reich shall directly supervise all traffic, posts, and telegraphs.

ARTICLE 9. The Protectorate shall form part of the German customs area and shall be subject to its customs authority.

ARTICLE 10. (1) In addition to the Reichsmark the Krone shall constitute legal tender until further notice.

(2) The rate of exchange for the two currencies shall be determined by the Government of the Reich.

ARTICLE 11. (1) The Reich may issue orders having the force of statutes for the Protectorate, in so far as required by the common welfare of both of them.

(2) In so far as there is a common need, the Reich may take over branches of the administrative services and may establish the necessary Reich agencies in their stead.

(3) The Government of the Reich may take all measures necessary for the maintenance of security and order.

ARTICLE 12. The laws and statutes presently in effect in Bohemia and Moravia shall remain in effect unless incompatible with the purposes of protection by the German Reich.

ARTICLE 13. The Reich Minister of the Interior shall,in agreement with the Reich ministers concerned, issue all rules and regulations, general and administrative, required for the enforcement and implementation of this decree.

Document 40

Prague, March 16, 1939

ADOLF HITLER, Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor

FRICK, Reich Minister of the Interior

VON RIBBENTROP, Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dr. LAMMERS, Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancellery.

H3258-0180

Document 40 A.

To compare with document 40

IMPERIAL JAPANESE ORDINANCE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE RESIDENCY-GENERAL AND RESIDENCIES IN KOREA x) PROMULGATED DECEMBER 20, 1905.

- - - - -

"British and Foreign State Papers"
1904-1905, Vol. 98, pp. 1141-1144, London.

Art. 1. A Residency-General shall be established at Seoul, Korea.

2. A Resident-General shall be appointed to the Residency-General.

The Resident-General shall be of Shinnin rank.

The Resident-General shall be under the direct command of the Emperor. In regard to diplomatic affairs, he shall make representations to His Imperial Majesty, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister-President of State, and he shall receive Imperial sanctions and commands through the Minister-President of State and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. In regard to all other matters, the representations, sanctions, and commands as aforesaid shall pass through the hands of the Minister-President of State only.

3. The Resident-General shall represent the Imperial Japanese Government in Korea, and shall exercise general control over all matters relative to the foreign Consulates and foreigners in Korea excepting such matters as may pass through the hands of the foreign Representatives resident in Japan. He shall also have control of such administrative affairs of Korea as relate to foreigners.

The Resident-General shall have control of all political affairs, which are, in accordance with the Treaties and Conventions, to be administered by the Imperial and public authorities of Japan in Korea, and he shall also be charged with all other affairs of control which have hitherto appertained to the Imperial authorities.

4. The Resident-General, may, when he deems it necessary for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Korea, order the Commander of the Imperial garrison in Korea to use military force.

5. In regard to administrative affairs of Korea, the execution of which is necessary to the fulfilment of Treaty obligations, the Resident-General shall refer them to the Korean Government and demand that they be carried out. In case of urgency, however, he may communicate directly with the proper local authorities of Korea and cause them to act, informing the Korean Government afterwards of the steps thus taken.

6. The Resident-General shall exercise supervision over the officials of the Imperial Government and others, who may be in the service of the Korean Government.

7. The Resident-General shall have power to issue Residency-General Ordinances with punitive provisions of imprisonment not exceeding one year or fines not exceeding 200 yen.

H3258-0181

8. When the Resident-General considers any orders or measures of the authorities under him to be in conflict with the Treaties, Laws, or Regulations, or to be detrimental to the public interests or to exceed the powers of such authorities, he may suspend or rescind such orders or measures.

9. The Resident-General shall exercise general control over the officials under him. Regarding the appointment and dismissal of officials of Sonin rank, he shall make representations to the Emperor through the Minister-President of State. He shall appoint and dismiss officials of Hannin rank and others below it in his own discretion.

10. The Resident-General shall make representations to the Emperor through the Minister-President of State regarding the conferment of Court rank or decorations upon officials under him.

11. In addition to the Resident-General the following functionaries shall be attached to the Residency-General:-

Secretary-General	1 Chokunin
Director of Agricultural, Commercial and Industrial Affairs	(Chokunin or 1 Sonin
Director of Police Affairs	1 Chokunin or Sonin
Private Secretary	1 Sonin
Secretaries	7 Sonin
Police inspectors	2 Sonin
Gishi (technical officials)	5 Sonin
Secretary-interpreters	10 Sonin
Clerks Eleve interpreters Police sergeants Gishu (assistant technical officials)	45 Hannin

Treatment of higher officials or of officials of Hannin rank may be extended to Koreans employed in the Residency-General or in establishments subordinate to it.

12. The Secretary-General shall, under the Resident-General, have general charge of the affairs of the Residency-General.

13. In case of inability of the Resident-General from any cause to discharge the functions of his office, the Commander of the Imperial garrison in Korea or the Secretary-General, as the Resident-General may designate, shall temporarily discharge the functions of the Resident-General.

H3258-0182

14. The Director of Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial Affairs shall, under orders of his superiors, have charge of matters relating to agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and other industries.

15. The Director of Police Affairs shall, under orders of his superiors, have charge of police affairs.

16. The Private Secretary shall, under orders of his superiors, have charge of affairs of a confidential nature.

17. The secretaries shall, under orders of their superiors, have charge of the business of the Residency-General.

18. The Gishi(technical officials) shall, under orders of their superiors, have charge of technical affairs.

19. The Secretary-Interpreters shall, under orders of their superiors, have charge of translation of documents and of interpretation.

20. The Gishu (assistant technical officials) shall, under the direction of their superiors, attend to technical business.

21. The Resident-General may attach Gishi, Secretary-Interpreters and Gishu of the Residency-General to any Residency. Such officials shall, in the discharge of their duties, be under the direction and supervision of the Resident concerned.

22. Residencies shall be established at the more important places in Korea.

The location of the Residencies and the areas of their jurisdiction shall be determined by the Resident-General.

23. The following functionaries shall be attached to each Residency:

Resident	Sonin
Vice-Resident	Sonin
Clerks	Hannin
Police Sergeants	Hannin
Eleve interpreters	Hannin

In addition to the above officials, a police inspector shall be appointed to such Residencies as the Resident-General may deem necessary. Such police inspector shall be of Sonin rank.

At Residencies having two or more Vice-Residents, one of them shall principally have charge of legal matters.

A number of functionaries of the Residencies shall be determined elsewhere.

H3258-0183

24. Residents shall, under the direction and supervision of the Resident-General, have charge of matters, which formerly appertained to the Consuls resident in Korea as well as of matters which are to be dealt with by the Residents in accordance with the Treaties, Laws, and Regulations.

25. In case a Resident finds an urgent necessity for the preservation of peace and order leaving no time to apply to the Resident-General for instructions, he may communicate with the Commander of the Imperial forces stationed in his locality and request the latter to dispatch troops.

26. Regarding such administrative measures of Korea as are found necessary for the fulfilment of Treaty obligations, Residents may communicate directly with the proper local authorities of Korea and cause the necessary measures to be carried out, in case of urgency not allowing time to ask for instructions from the Resident-General, reporting to the Resident-General afterwards the steps thus taken.

27. Residents may issue Residency orders with punitive provisions of fines not exceeding 10 yen, or police detention or fines.

28. The Vice-Residents shall, under orders of the Residents, have charge of the business of the Residency, and shall, in case of inability of the Residents, discharge their functions temporarily.

29. The Police Inspectors of the Residency-General and the Residencies shall, under orders of their superiors, have charge of police affairs.

30. The clerks of the Residency-General and the Residencies shall under the direction of their superiors, attend to general business.

31. The police sergeants of the Residency-General and the Residencies shall each, under the direction of their superiors, have charge of police affairs and exercise direction and control over the policemen placed under them.

32. The Eleve Interpreters of the Residency-General and the Residencies shall, under the direction of their superiors, engage in translation of documents and interpretations.

33. Policemen shall be attached to the Residency-General and the Residencies. They shall receive the treatment of officials of Hannin rank.

The number of policemen shall be determined by the Resident-General.

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H3258-0184

Summary of Legislation on Large-Scale Land Planning Introduced into the Incorporated Eastern Territories, May 14, 1940
(Verordnungsblatt, 1940, No. 25, p. 405)

Pursuant to the order of April 11, 1940, on the introduction of laws concerning the planning and spatial organization of the Reich, into the incorporated Eastern Territories (RGBl I, p. 692), the following provisions shall be enforced as from the date of the said order, in the Reichsgau Wartheland:

1. Law of March 29, 1935 (RGBl I, p. 468), concerning the Regulation of the Space required for Public Purposes.

Earth and soil are the foundation of the German people and of the Reich. In order to assure the proper development of German space, and to establish a single centralized plan for the use of land for public purposes, the Reich government has enacted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

Section 1

A Reich Office is created for the purpose of regulating the space required for public purposes. This agency is under the direct control of the Reich Chancellor. The Reich Chancellor shall appoint the director of the Reich Office.

Section 2.

The director of the Reich Office shall make his decisions after consultation with the supreme Reich Authorities who may be concerned.

Section 3.

(1) The Reich Office must see to it that the German space is organized in a manner adapted to the needs of the state and nation.

(2) At the request of the Reich Office, the supreme Reich authorities must inform it regarding any proposed acquisition of land for public use (as for purposes of military policy, for highway or street construction, or for afforestation and resettlement), and must supply it with all information which it requires in order to fulfill its functions. The Reich Office has the right to raise objections to the execution of a project.

Section 4.

The director of the Reich Office, in agreement with the interested Reich Ministers, shall issue the legal and administrative regulations required to implement and supplement the present law.

Berlin, March 29, 1935

The Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor

ADOLF HITLER

H3258-0185

General Order of the Reich Leader of the S. S. and
Reich Commissioner for the Promotion of Germanism
November 26, 1940
(Verordnungsblatt des Reichstatthalters in Warthegau 1941)

Subject: Principles and Directives for Agricultural Development in the new Eastern Regions

The directives here laid down are intended to outline the establishment of new rural communitites in a first great area. The experiences resulting from the development of the communities now to be established will supply other basic principles for the great settlement enterprises which will begin after the end of the war.

1. System of Rural Communities

1. Forms of Enterprise

The controlling consideration in connection with every new arrangement made in the Eastern Territories is the broadening and strengthening of Germanism. All special interests of economic occupation and of culture must serve this objective.

The development of a sound system of rural communities (village life) is of decisive importance to the rebuilding and strengthening of Germanism. Above all, this system must guarantee to the farming class, as the strong foundation for the development of the nation, security against debt and against the breaking up of property through inheritance; and must give it the natural conditions under which it can fulfil its functions of biological, social, and economic production for the nation as a whole.

HIMMLER
Reich Fuhrer of S. S. and Reich
Commissioner for the Promotion
of Germanism.

H3258-0186

Order concerning Spatial Organization and Land Planning in the Ostland (the Baltic Provinces)
July 6, 1942

(Amtsblatt, 1942, No. 46, p. 571, copying the order from Verordnungsblatt, July 18, 1942)

In order to provide for the Ostland comprehensive and systematic plans and arrangements for the development of space, and at the same time to bring all measures affecting land into harmony with the requirements of the interests of the Reich, on the basis of Section 2 of the order of the Reich Minister for the occupied Eastern Territories, concerning legal measures in the occupied Eastern Territories, of February 21, 1942 (Verordnungsblatt, p. 11) I hereby order as follows:

Section 1.
Jurisdiction

(1) Spatial management and land planning in the Ostland shall be under the control of the Reich Commissioner for the Ostland.

(2) Spatial management and land planning in the general districts of the Ostland shall be administered by the Commissioners General, according to the directives of the Reich Commissioner.

Section 2.
Councils and Committees

Councils and committees for the purpose of giving advice in connection with decisions affecting the spatial development of the Ostland may be established and attached to the Reich Commissioner for the Ostland and to the Commissioners General, in pursuance of the directives of the Reich Commissioner for the Ostland.

Section 3.
Scope of Large Scale Spatial Organization

Spatial management and land planning in the Ostland shall control the following matters:

1. Taking over property;
2. Making general plans which are far-sighted and well shaped, and directing the execution of such plans;
3. Ordering and regulating the land needed by public and private users, and controlling the use of land for special purposes.

Section 4.
Taking over Property

The taking over of property shall include:

1. Determination of the existing situation with reference to land; for example, the way in which the ground is used, the physical, topographical, climatic and economic conditions, and the facts as to building and management;
2. Ascertainment of the facts as to the population and its racial and social structure; for example, the situation as to the number and distribution of the people, their occupations, and their social, cultural, and racial backgrounds;
3. Working out descriptions and charts which set forth in a coordinated way the physiographic and demographic data of the land and the district.

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Section 5.
Plans for Spatial Organization

(1) The comprehensive and systematic overall plan shall cover the best possible future organization of the space, as well as the purposes for which it can be used, with especial reference to the development of settlement projects, and to questions of business and general economy. The purpose of this plan is to fit the technical and special plans which involve questions of space, as well as the municipal plans which affect only small areas, into the general plan of spatial organization for the Ostland or for the general districts.

(2) The public agencies concerned must furnish the data for the plans at the proper time -- that is, while the plans are in course of preparation. Notice shall be given, as prescribed by the provisions which will be issued for the execution of this order.

(3) The comprehensive and systematic overall plan for the Ostland shall be prepared by the Reich Commissioner for the Ostland, with the cooperation of all public agencies concerned. The Reich Commissioner for the Ostland shall approve the plans of spatial organization for the Ostland. For the general districts, the Commissioner General shall see that a plan of spatial organization is prepared, within the limits of the overall plan for the Ostland.

(4) The Reich Commissioner shall supervise the unified execution of the overall plan. The execution of the plans for spatial organization in the general districts is supervised by the Commissioner General.

Section 6.
Land Requirements

(1) The regulation of land requirements and of the use of space for special purposes shall include:

a) The land requirements of the governmental agencies;

b) All measures taken by the public agencies concerned or by corporations for the purpose of changing or improving the utilization of space.

(2) It is hereby ordered that all measures of the kind mentioned in Paragraph (1) shall be reported. A report shall be made by all public agencies or corporations which take such measures. Reports shall be sent to the district commissioner or Commissioner General who has jurisdiction, or to specified offices.

(3) The duty and the procedure of reporting will be regulated in detail by special executory provisions.

(4) Plans for anticipated military requirements shall likewise be reported, according to the more detailed provisions which will be issued by the headquarters staff in agreement with the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. A similar arrangement shall be made in the case of plans for the requirements of other planning bodies which are not subordinated to the Reich Minister for the occupied Eastern Territories.

Section 7.
Official and Administrative Assistance

All agencies of civil government in the Ostland are required to give official and administrative assistance in connection with the entire work of spatial organization.

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Document 73

Section 8.
Final Provision

This order shall become effective on the day of its publication.

Riga, July 6, 1942.

The Reich Commissioner for the Ostland

LOHSE

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Document 45

Decree concerning the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning, December 13, 1935
(RGBl I, p. 1515)

After the establishment of the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning, this agency shall be responsible for planning the Reich and its territory, in accordance with Section 2 of the decree concerning the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning of June 26, 1935 (RGBl I, p. 793). The director of the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning, in agreement with the Reich and Prussian Minister of Labor, shall direct the organization and arrange the legal status and relationships of the Planning Associations, and shall also exercise supervision over them.

The Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning shall issue the legal and administrative regulations required for the enforcement of this decree. Special planning in particular working districts shall remain under the jurisdiction of the present authorities. It shall be their duty to report their proposed plans to the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning.

Berlin, December 13, 1935

The Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor

ADOLF HITLER

H3258-0190

First Order for the Execution of the Law concerning Reich Planning, Dated February 15, 1936
(RGBl I, p. 104)

Pursuant to the decree of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor of December 18, 1935 (RGBl I, p. 1515) the following order is issued in agreement with the Reich and Prussian Minister of Labor:

Section 1. Regions for Planning

Regions for planning are the districts placed under Reich Governors, the Saarland, the provinces in Prussia, the capital city of Berlin, and the District of the Resettlement Association in the Coal Region of the Ruhr.

Section 2. Planning Authorities

(1) Planning Authorities are: the Reich Governors, the Provincial Chairmen in Prussia, the Reich Commissioner in the Saarland, and for Berlin, the State Commissioner for the capital city of Berlin.

(2) The Planning Authorities are subordinated to the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning.

(3) The Planning Authorities, with the consent of the Reich Central Agency for Large-Scale Land Planning, may delegate their authority to subordinate state agencies.

KERRL
Reich Minister

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The decree on Reporting Land Projects, which has been in force in the Reichsgau Wartheland since November 9, 1935-Ro. 1/39 - reads as follows:

RE: Regulation of Projects and Plans for the Use of Land in the Reichsgau Wartheland.--First Decree on Reporting.
(Verordnungsblatt, 1940, No. 25, p. 407)

I.

The Reich governor assumes responsibility for the supervision of problems arising in connection with projects and plans for the use of land in the Reichsgau Wartheland, and for the making of any necessary decisions.

II.

1. (a) In order to prevent the overlapping of claims to land made by the individual planners,

(b) In order to give timely notice of a request for land to all agencies concerned, so that they may present their views,

(c) In order that approval may be obtained for such expulsions from land as may be necessary at any time,

(d) In order to protect the areas reserved for particular purposes,

(e) In order that a sound and well regulated land development may be assured in any given territory, with due reference to the raw materials, food supply, building sites, transportation facilities, and conditions of supply in such territory.

(f) Finally, in order that proper provision may be made for the cultural and recreational needs of the people and the development of their territory,

I request that any project or plan for the use of land, whether for residential or other purposes, shall be reported to me at the earliest possible date.

Posen, May 14, 1940.

The Reich Governor

By deputy:
JÄGER

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Document 28

Order concerning the New Arrangement for Resettlement in Lorraine

December 7, 1940

(Verordnungsblatt, 1940, No. 21, p. 389)

Land which has been freed by the removal of people from Lorraine is to be utilized primarily for the re-establishment of the German farming class, and for residential resettlement. For these purposes, and in particular for the work of planning necessarily connected therewith, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Fuehrer, I issue the following order:

Section 1.

(1) The real property of the persons removed from Lorraine shall be seized and confiscated on behalf of the Chief of the Civil Administration in Lorraine.

(2) In connection with the seizure and confiscation of agricultural and forest property, all equipment and produce, as well as all rights, titles, claims, shares and interests of any kind, are also subject to seizure and confiscation.

Section 2.

Agricultural and forest property seized in pursuance of the order of August 7, 1940, concerning the property of enemies of the Reich and the nation, is confiscated, and shall be included as it may be needed in the systematic reconstruction of the district.

BUERCKEL

Chief of the Civil Administration in Lorraine

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Document 44

Order concerning Tax Abatement for the Benefit of the Incorporated Eastern Territories (Eastern Tax Abatement Order) December 9, 1940
(Reichsgesetzblatt)
(1940, I, p. 1565)

In the effort to establish and promote Germanism (Deutschtum) in the incorporated Eastern Territories through taxation measures, as well as by other means, we order by virtue of Section 13 of the Reich tax ordinance:

SECTION 1. ABATEMENT OF TAXES FOR INDIVIDUALS

Paragraph 1. Exemption for Income Tax. German Nationals and persons of German origin (Volkszugehorige) in the incorporated Eastern Territories shall be entitled to an exemption of 3,000 Reichsmarks from their income provided that the income does not exceed 25,000 Reichsmarks. The exemption of 3,000 Reichsmarks shall be increased by 300 Reichsmarks for each minor child belonging to the household.

THE REICH MINISTER OF FINANCE
By deputy: REINHARDT
THE REICH MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
By deputy: PFUNDTNER

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OTHER BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Document 49.

Biographical Sketch of Karl Haushofer

Karl Haushofer, the son of a professor of economics and statistics in the Technische Hochschule in Munich, was born on August 27, 1869. He studied at the classical gymnasium in Munich, the Kriegs-Akademie, the General Staff School, and the University of Munich. He became an artillery officer, and afterward a member of the General Staff. For a time, he taught military history in the Kriegs-Akademie.

He spent the years 1908-1910 in the Orient, chiefly in Japan, by order of the General Staff. His principal assignment was, to make a study of Japanese army organization. During these years, and on later journeys, he travelled not only in Europe and Japan, but also in India, Burma, Korea, China, and Asiatic Russia.

In 1912 he decided to leave active army service and devote himself to studies of the Orient and of geography, to which subjects he brought a decidedly military point of view. The following year saw the publication of his well-known book, Dai Nippon, the full title of which may be translated as follows: Japan; Reflections upon Greater Japan's War Power, World Position, and Future. In following years he wrote several other books dealing with Japan. Before the outbreak of the first World War in 1914, Haushofer had completed his doctoral dissertation, on the subject: The German Share in the Geographical Opening-up of Japan and the sub-Japanese World Areas, and the promotion thereof by the influence of war and military policy.

The outbreak of the war made it necessary for Haushofer to return to active military service. Before the end of the war he had become the commander of an artillery division.

In 1919 Haushofer established himself as a lecturer (Privat-Dozent) at the University of Munich, where he became an honorary professor of geography in 1921. Haushofer adopted as an expression of his viewpoint the word geopolitics (Geopolitik), which seems to have been coined in 1916 by a Swedish political scientist, Rudolf Kjellen. The lectures on geography which Haushofer delivered introduced this word and a number of concepts related to it or grouped around it, to a varied audience of students of geography and politics, men with political ambitions, journalists, and others.

In 1924, Haushofer (with editorial and financial assistance) founded the Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, which at once became the principal outlet for short studies in the field indicated by its title. Haushofer is the only member of the board of editors who has contributed actively to the Zeitschrift throughout its life. This periodical is intended for the lay reader, as Haushofer has always considered it of basic importance to teach the German people to "think geopolitically," as well as to teach the German leaders to "act geopolitically."

A group of co-workers, both in Munich and in other parts of Germany, have felt the influence of Haushofer and have written on geopolitical or allied subjects. Among these may be mentioned: Walter Vogel, professor of political science at the University of Berlin; Adolf Grabowski, an editor of the Zeitschrift; Ewald Banse, a professor of military science in the Institute of Technology at Brunswick; Otto Maull, Joseph Marz, and Wulf Siewert. Many other names appear in the index

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of authors who have contributed to the Zeitschrift für Geopolitik.

Haushofer did not confine his lectures to the University; on the contrary, he travelled through Germany, making speeches about Germany's need of living space (Lebensraum). He developed this theme before audiences of students, officials, military men, professional persons, and businessmen. "Living space" gradually became a household word; a best-selling novel was written under the title "Volk ohne Raum" (People without Space); and the press and the schools did much to spread the idea that Germany must have "living space." Even in foreign countries, especially in England and the United States, the propaganda to this effect was often repeated.

Meanwhile, Haushofer had married a partially Jewish woman (a fact which may explain why the official positions bestowed upon him by the Nazis were not higher, and why he never supported in full the National Socialist racial doctrines, despite an occasional anti-Semitic remark intended to show his loyalty to the Führer). His wife, Frau Martha Haushofer, translated into German a book by James Fairgrieve called Geography and World Power (London 1920); the translation, under the title Geographie und Weltmacht, appeared in 1925.

The two sons of Karl and Martha Haushofer have long been engaged in spreading the gospel of geopolitics. Before Hitler came to power, Albrecht Haushofer was permanent Secretary of the Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin). Under the Nazis, he was made director of the Geopolitical Seminar in the Institute of Politics (Hochschule für Politik) in Berlin, a key position in the training of military officers and high civil servants and government officials. He seems also to have assisted his father in the Institute for Geopolitics at Munich. The younger son, Heinz Konrad Haushofer, is known to have worked in Balkan countries, especially Rumania, to prepare the way for the Nazis. It is reported that he was later appointed to a chair of geopolitics at the Institute of Technology in Stuttgart.

The Institute of Geopolitics at Munich, directed by Haushofer, is the outgrowth of his seminar at the University. It was favored and supported by the National Socialists. In 1939 it had more than eighty research workers on its staff. It also drew upon the Association of Workers in Geopolitics (Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Geopolitik), an organization of persons throughout Germany who study geopolitical questions. The Institute receives much information from agents abroad.

So far as is known, Karl Haushofer, at his present age of seventy-six, is in good health and is carrying on geopolitical studies.

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Partial List of Writings by Karl Haushofer

"Der deutsche Anteil an der geographischen Erschliessung Japans und des subjapanischen Erdraums, und deren Förderung durch den Einfluss von Krieg und Wehrpolitik." Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in München, Band 9 (1914) - - - - - - "The German Share in the Geographical Opening-Up of Japan and the sub-Japanese World Areas, and the Promotion thereof by the Influence of War and Military Policy."

"Die Suggestive Karte," Grenzboten, 1922. Reprinted in Bausteine zur Geopolitik (1928), pp. 343-48. - - - - - - - "The Suggestive Map."

"Grundlagen, Wesen, und Ziele der Geopolitik," Bausteine zur Geopolitik (1928), 29-48. - - - - - - - "Foundations, Essence and Purposes of Geopolitics".

"Politische Erdkunde und Geopolitik," Bausteine zur Geopolitik (1928), 49-77. - - - - - - - "Political Knowledge of the Earth and Geopolitics."

Bausteine zur Geopolitik. Berlin-Grunewald: Vowinckel, 1928. - - - - - - "Building-Stones of Geopolitics" (Jointly with Erich Obst, Hermann Lautensach, and Otto Maull)

Dai Nippon: Betrachtungen über Gross-Japans Wehrkraft, Weltstellung, und Zukunft. Berlin: Mittler, 1913 - - - - - - Japan: Reflections upon Greater Japan's War Power, World Position, and Future.

Das japanische Reich in seiner geographischen Entwicklung. Vienna: Seidel, 1921. - - - - - - The Japanese Empire in its Geographical Development.

Der nationalsozialistische Gedanke in der Welt. München: Callwey, 1933. (Published at the inauguration of the Third Reich.) - - - - - - The National Socialist Idea in the World.

Geopolitik der Pan-Ideen. (Weltpolitische Bücherei, Band 21) Berlin: Zentral-Verlag, 1931. - - - - - - The Geopolitics of the "Pan" Ideas.

Geopolitik des pazifischen Ozeans. Berlin: Vowinckel, 1924; 2nd edition, 1938. - - - - - - The Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean.

Zur Geopolitik der Selbstbestimmung: Südost-Asiens Wiederaufstieg zur Selbstbestimmung. München und Leipzig: Rosl, 1923. - - - - - - On the Geopolitics of Self-Determination: The Restoration of Southeastern Asia in the Direction of Self-Determination.

Grenzen in ihrer geographischen und politischen Bedeutung. Berlin-Grünewald: Vowinckel, 1927; 2nd ed., 1939. - - - - - - Boundaries and their Geographical and Political Significance.

"Deutschland," "Ostasien," "General," Die Grossmächte vor und nach dem Weltkriege (1930), 191-97, 267-78, 311-26. - - - - - - The Great Powers Before and After the World War: "Germany," "Eastern Asia," "General."

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Japan und die Japaner; eine Landeskunde und Volkskunde. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1923; 2nd edition, 1933. - - - - - - Japan and the Japanese; a Study of the Land and the People.

Japans Werdegang als Weltmacht und Imperium. Berlin: 1933 - - - - - - Japan's Development as World Power and Empire.

Jenseits der Grossmächte. Karl Haushofer, ed. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1932. - - - - - - - Beyond the Great Powers.

"Vom Werden und Wesen der Geopolitik," Bausteine zur Geopolitik (1928), 3-28. - - - - - - - "How Geopolitics has Developed and What It Is."

Raumüberwindende Mächte. Karl Haushofer, ed. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1934. - - - - - - - Space-Conquering Powers.

Wehr-Geopolitik. Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1932 (2nd ed. 1934) - - - - - - Military Geopolitics.

Weltpolitik von Heute. Berlin: Verlag "Zeitgeschichte" (1934). - - - - - - - World Politics of Today.

"Geopolitische Einflüsse bei den Verkörperungsversuchen von nationalem Sozialismus und sozialer Aristokratie," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 1 (1924), 127-34. - - - - - - - "Geopolitical Influences in Connection with the Attempts to Materialize National Socialism and Social Aristocracy."

"Geopolitik der Ostsee," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 12 (1935), 744-47. - "Geopolitics of the Baltic Sea."

"Grossasiatische Dynamik," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 9 (1932), 129-35. - "The Dynamics of Greater Asia."

"Bericht über den indopazifischen Raum," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 10 (1933), 756-60. - - - - - - - "Report on the Indo-Pacific Area".

"Atemweite, Lebensraum, und Gleichberechtigung auf Erde," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 11 (1934), 1-14 - - - - - - - "Breathing Space, Living Space, and Equal Rights to the Earth."

"Stimme der Geopolitik, zum 29. März 1936," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 13 (1936), 247 - - - - - - - "The Voice of Geopolitics, on March 29, 1936."

"Bericht über den indopazifischen Raum," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 14 (1937), 466-72 - - - - - - - (Second) "Report on the Indo-Pacific Area."

"Militärische und seelische Kräfte im fernen Osten," Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik, 15 (1938), 937-42 - - - - - - - "Military and Spiritual Strength in the Far East."

Alt-Japan, Werdegang von der Urzeit bis zur Grossmachtschwelle. Berlin und Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1938 - - - - - - - Old Japan, Development from its Early Period into a Pivot of Power.

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"Herbsten?," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 16 (1939), 741-43. - - - - - - "Is the "arvest Being Gathered?"

"Der Nahe Osten im Vorschalten eurasiatischer Festlandpolitik," Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik, 16 (1939), 781-83. - - - - - - - "The Near East in the Preliminary Control of Eurasian Continental Policy."

"Pflicht und Anspruch der Geopolitik als Wissenchaft," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 12 (1935), 443-48. - - - - - - - "The Duties and Rights of Geopolitics as a Science."

"Bericht über den indopazifischen Raum," Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik, 16 (1939), 446-53, 677-82, 773-78, 868-72. - - - - - - - (Third), "Report on the Indo-Pacific Area."

"Geopolitischer Neujahrs-Ausblick, 1940," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 17 (1940), 1-5. - - - - - - - "Geopolitical Outlook for the New Year."

"Bericht über den idopazifishcen Raum," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 17 (1940), 289-92, 387-92. - - - - - - - (Fourth) "Report on the Indo-Pacific Area."

"Berichterstattung aus der indopazifischen Welt," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 1 (1924), 818-22. - - - - - - - "A Report Delivered from the Indo-Pacific World."

"Spanische Geopolitik", Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 17 (1940), 395-96 - "Spanish Geopolitics" (a book review).

"Die grösste Aufgabe," Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 18 (1941), 369-70. - "The Most Important Problem."

Japans Reichserneuerung (1930) - - - - - - - The Revival of Japan's Empire

Macht und Erde (1934) - - - - - - - Power and Earth.

Weltmeere und Weltmächte (1937) - - - - - - - World Seas and World Powers.

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Document 51

Zeitschrift Fur Geopolitik (Monthly Magazine Edited by Professor Karl Haushofer), September 1941, Page 534

THE LEADER OF THE GERMANIC PEOPLES

The Deutsche Zeitung in Norway (Oslo, June 14, 1941) published a decree protecting the positions of Norwegian SS men, in which among other things it was stated, "workers who have been engaged in a position for one month may not be discharged, or removed in any other way, because they serve in the Norwegian SS", etc. In the explanation of this, issued on the order of the Supreme Leader of the Norwegians, Vidkun Quisling, it was stated, "the twenty-first of May 1941 will stand as a memorable day in Norway's history. On this day the work was continued which had begun in the establishment of the regiment 'Nordland'. With this work the honor of the Norwegian people is being reestablished. It is receiving again to which a people has a claim, namely, to be allowed to bear weapons. The Norwegian SS will be Norway's protection, guarding the common Germanic interests and taking care that the consciousness of race and of the community of destiny lives ever strong and awake in the people. May 21 is the day in which the first division of the Norwegian SS took the solemn oath of allegiance. If in some quarters unclarity concerning the significance of this oath of allegiance has reigned, this can only imply an ignorance of the content and the range of the oath. Every good Norwegian will be able to approve and take the oath, which is made in Norway. It is taken to the man Adolf Hitler, not in his capacity as head of the German state and leader of the German people, but as Supreme Leader of the community of Germanic peoples, and to the man Vidkun Quisling as leader of the Norwegian people. May 21 is therefore more than a memorable day merely in the history of our fatherland. It will be a memorable day in the history of the community of Germanic peoples and in the history of our race. On this day for the first time expression was given to the association (Gleichordnung) among the Germanic peoples on a free and equal basis. The Norwegian SS ought to have an eminent place in the consciousness of the Norwegian people, and the authorities will see that no injustice occurs to the men who enter in their ranks."

An article published in the German press under the dateline, Brussels, July 20, 1941, stated similarly: "In the very near future the Flemish Volunteer Legion will be engaged in the struggle against Bolshevism. They will wear the uniforms of the military SS (Waffen SS), not, however, with the insignia of the eagle but with that of a sundial. The Volunteers will take an oath to Adolf Hitler as the leader of all Germans and at the same time a pledge of allegiance to the Flemish people. Like the Flemish troops who in the Middle Ages fought in innumerable campaigns for the Reich and the cause of the Occident, the Flemish Corps of today has received permission also to bear as its banner the Flemish lion-flag. The Flemish Volunteers will be led by Flemish officers."

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Document 52

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM WEHRGEOPOLITIK
BY KARL HAUSHOFER

NOTE: This book, which was first published in 1932, went through several editions. The present translation is based on editions 4 and 5, published in 1941.

All kinds of reproaches have been made against geopolitics from every direction, since it came forward .....with its claim to be the geographical consciousness of the state. That such a consciousness is necessary, the whole world seems to agree -- especially in view of its military-geopolitical high tensions. One need but mention the despairing cry of Sir Thomas Holdich, a cry directed against the Old Men of Versailles by a man who was familiar with almost all practical questions affecting boundaries everywhere in the world: "The costs of geographical ignorance are measureless!" But geography, even political geography, often failed to pay sufficient attention to these costs (until the uproar against geopolitics arose) to ward off the predictable military-geopolitical outbreaks.

What was the meaning of all this opposition on the part of persons who at bottom desired nothing else than to see a summary of all information, which could place the knowledge of power and of the earth at the disposal of the statesmen, before they made decisions of world-shaking significance? One called an application of this information to the revival of state leadership in world events the warming-up of a long dead theory of the influence of geographical surroundings. Another spoke of geomancy, and compared the serious and objective claim of geopolitics, that it was gathering all obtainable information as the first step toward power in a crowded world, with astrology or false prophesy. pp. 187, 188.

The political Fuehrer is right in requiring of his immediate staff and his larger staff, that they should give him adequate information as to how solid the ground is for leaping, how the terrain is formed where he is landing, what his situation is in respect to military geopolitics, and what whole-hearted or half-hearted support or what opposition is to be expected from the approximately sixty nations which have power over the earth of our planet. pp. 194, 195.

Document 10 A.

L-360

VEREIN FÜR DAS DEUTSCHTUM IM AUSLAND
(LEAGUE FOR GERMANDOM IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES)
BERLIN W 30, MARTIN LUTHER STREET 97

AGREEMENT

With the National Office of the Hitler Youth

Between the Hitler Youth and the VDA the following fundamental arrangement has been agreed upon:

(1) With a complete respect for the important racial-political tasks the Hitler Youth recommends to its members membership in collaboration with the VDA.

(2) The work of the VDA group continues in its previous forms. The VDA, however, discontinues its military and physical training.

(3) The school groups of the VDA (racial-German work-cells) assist the Hitler Youth in their work.

(4) The VDA group chiefs work consequently in closest contact with the Hitler Youth leaders and participate with their groups in the events of the Hitler Youth, as conversely the Hitler Youth can also take part in the racial-German fetes of the VDA.

(5) As a visible sign of his solidarity with the Hitler Youth the VDA member wears a VDA armband with the Swastika.

(6) Solicitor Nabersberg of the NSDAP's National Youth Office becomes a member of the VDA's Council of Leaders. Dr. H. Schoeneich of the VDA becomes a member of the Council of Leaders in the Reich's Board of German Youth Societies. The same reciprocal representation is also to be established in the provincial boards.

Karlsruhe, May 6, 1933

For the VDA

Signed: Dr. H. Schoeneich

Per E. Klinghammer

For the Hitler Youth

The Reich's Youth Leader

Signed: Baldur von Schirach

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EXHIBIT U.S.A. 671 (L-360)

EXHIBIT U.S.A.

671

(L-360)

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I.M.T. Nürnberg
by Secretary

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